

U. S. Department of Justice

(MATERIAL MUST NOT BE REMOVED FROM OR ADDED TO THIS FILE)

FEDERAL BUREAU

of

INVESTIGATION

CLASSIFICATION NO.

100

21213

Volume Number

2

Serials

98-

TO BE MAINTAINED IN SECURITY SUPERVISOR'S

OFFICE

See also Nos.

rec'd 5/12/76

HAWKEN 5/10/76

F B I

Date: 1/13/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)
 FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) (P)
 SUBJECT: NEW LEFT
 COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BUDED: 1/24/75

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, 12/24/74.

In accordance with instructions in re
 Bureau airtel, the following documents have been
 classified Confidential, Category II, Date of
 Declassification: Indefinite, by Classifying
 Officer 3067 on 1/6/75:

Identity of DocumentRecipients

X SL letter to Bureau dated
 5/28/68 captioned
 "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
 INTERNAL SECURITY,
 DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT"

Bureau

SL letter to Bureau dated
 6/13/68 captioned as above

Bureau

2 - Bureau (RM)
 2 - Chicago (RM)
 2 - Kansas City (RM)
 2 - New York (RM)
 2 - San Diego (RM)
 ② - St. Louis

WJA:kmt
 (12)

Kmt

100-21213-98
 SEARCHED
 SERIALIZED *EM*
 INDEXED
 FILED *EM*

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001151 Page 2

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SL 100-21213

Identity of Document

Recipients

X SL letter to Bureau dated
6/27/68 captioned
"COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
INTERNAL SECURITY,
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT"

Bureau

SL airtel to Bureau dated
7/2/68 captioned
"COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM,
INTERNAL SECURITY,
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT"

Bureau

SL letter to Bureau dated
10/10/68 captioned
"COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"

Bureau

SL airtel to Bureau dated
10/15/68 captioned
"COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"

Bureau
Kansas City
San Diego

SL airtel to Bureau dated
10/4/68 captioned "STUDENTS
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY;
IS - SDS"

Bureau (100-439048)

X SL letter to Bureau dated
10/23/68 captioned
"COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"

Bureau

X SL airtel to Bureau dated
11/6/68 captioned
"COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"

Bureau

SL 100-21213

Identity of Document

Recipients

SL airtel to Bureau dated
10/29/68 captioned
"COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"

Bureau
Kansas City
San Diego

SL airtel to Bureau dated
1/22/69 captioned
"COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"

Bureau

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

SL airtel to Bureau dated
2/14/69 captioned
"COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"

Bureau (100-449698 &

X SL airtel to Bureau dated
12/16/68 captioned
"COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"

Bureau

SL letter to Bureau dated
3/10/69 captioned
"COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"

Bureau

SL letter to Bureau dated
3/31/69 captioned
"COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"

Bureau

X SL letter to Bureau dated
7/11/69 captioned
"COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE
GROUPS; NEW LEFT MOVEMENT"

Bureau (100-448006)

X SL letter to Bureau dated
5/26/69 captioned
"COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE
GROUPS; NEW LEFT MOVEMENT"

Bureau
Chicago
New York

X SL letter to Bureau dated
6/3/69 captioned
"COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE
GROUPS; RACIAL INTELLIGENCE"

Bureau (100-448006)

SL 100-21213

Identity of Document

Recipients

X SL letter to Bureau dated 6/27/69 captioned "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM - NEW LEFT MOVEMENT"	Bureau
X SL letter to Bureau dated 6/27/69 captioned "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM - BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS; NEW LEFT"	Bureau (100-448006) New York
X SL letter to Bureau dated 9/2/69 captioned "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM - BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS; RACIAL INTELLIGENCE"	Bureau (100-448006) New York
X SL letter to Bureau dated 12/5/69 captioned "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM - BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS; RACIAL INTELLIGENCE"	Bureau (100-448006)
X SL letter to Bureau dated 1/19/70 captioned "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"	Bureau (100-449698 & 100-448006)
SL letter to Bureau dated 1/30/70 captioned "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM - BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUP; NEW LEFT; RACIAL INTELLIGENCE"	Bureau (100-448006)
SL letter to Bureau dated 2/13/70 captioned "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT; COINTELPRO - BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS"	Bureau (100-449698 & 100-448006)

SL 100-21213

Identity of Document

Recipients

SL letter to Bureau dated
6/19/70 captioned
"COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM -
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE
GROUPS; RACIAL INTELLIGENCE"

Bureau (100-448006)

SL letter to Bureau dated
9/30/70 captioned
"COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"

Bureau

SL letter to Bureau dated
10/8/70 captioned
"COUNTER INTELLIGENCE AND
SPECIAL OPERATIONS (RESEARCH
SECTION)"

Bureau (105-174254)

SL letter to Bureau dated
1/12/71 captioned
"COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"

Bureau

SL letter to Bureau dated
3/30/71 captioned
"COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT"

Bureau

SL airtel to Bureau dated
5/3/71 captioned
"COUNTERINTELLIGENCE
PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS);
INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL
MATTERS"

Bureau (100-461605 &
100-461114)

Recipient offices should classify above
documents as to Bureau instructions in re Bureau
airtel.

SL 100-21213

In review of captioned file, St. Louis noticed that the only Bureau document (i.e., Bureau originated) classified in the St. Louis file is Bureau airtel to Albany dated 4/28/71 captioned "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS); INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTERS".

The Bureau is requested to advise St. Louis if the following Bureau originated documents contained in St. Louis files should be classified:

Bureau letter to Albany dated 5/10/68 captioned "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; INTERNAL SECURITY; DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT";

Bureau letter to Albany dated 5/23/68 captioned "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; INTERNAL SECURITY; DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT";

Bureau letter to Albany dated 5/28/68 captioned "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; INTERNAL SECURITY; DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT";

Bureau letter to Albany dated 7/58/68 captioned "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; INTERNAL SECURITY; DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT (COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT)";

Bureau airtel to Albany dated 10/9/68 captioned "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM; INTERNAL SECURITY; DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT";

Bureau letter to St. Louis dated 10/18/68 captioned "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT";

Bureau letter to St. Louis dated 11/15/68 captioned "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT";

SL 100-21213

Bureau airtel to St. Louis dated
1/29/69 captioned "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT";

~~1/29/69~~ Bureau airtel to St. Louis dated
2/20/69 captioned "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT";

Bureau letter to St. Louis dated
3/28/69 captioned "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT";

Bureau letter to St. Louis dated
1/30/70 captioned "COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT";

Bureau letter to Albany dated
4/8/71 captioned "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE
PROGRAM; INTERNAL SECURITY; DISRUPTION OF
THE NEW LEFT (COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT)";

~~5/12/71~~ Bureau letter to St. Louis dated
5/12/71 captioned "MOVEMENT INFORMATION
LIBRARY (MIL), IS - MISC (INTERNAL
SECURITY); BUfile 100-461605; SLfile 105-
7562" and "THIRD WORLD REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL
(TWRC); IS - MISC (INTERNAL SECURITY);
BUfile 105-461114; SLfile 105-7550"

St. Louis has completed classification
of documents as requested in re Bureau airtel.

1/21/75

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (C)
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE
GROUPS
RACIAL MATTERS
BUDED 1/23/75

ReBuairtel dated 1/17/75 (no copy to St. Louis);
SLairtel to Bu, 1/16/75; and SLairtel to Bu, 1/13/75, captioned
"NEW LEFT, COINTELPRO, BUDED 1/24/75."

Instructions contained in referenced Bureau
airtel have been carried out. It is noted that NY 157-6024
(Paragraph one, referenced Bureau airtel) was consolidated
into 100-161140 on 12/21/70.

Those documents listed in referenced St. Louis
airtels as having copies at NYO have been classified in
accordance with information contained in those airtels.
Those documents are:

1. SL letter to Bureau, 5/26/69, "COINTELPRO,
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS, NEW LEFT
MOVEMENT";
2. SL letter to Bureau, 6/27/69, "COINTELPRO,
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS, NEW LEFT";
3. SL letter to Bureau, 9/2/69, "COINTELPRO,
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS, RACIAL INTELLIGENCE."

2-Bureau (RM)
2-St. Louis (157-5818) (INFO) (RM)
(1-100-21213) (INFO)
1-New York (100-163303)
1-New York

GHS:amw
(7)

100-21213-99

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>em</i>	FILED <i>em</i>
JAN 23 1975	
FBI - ST. LOUIS	

Ahler *Wp* *8*

NY 100-161140

4. SL letter to NY, 11/15/68, "COINTELPRO,
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS, RACIAL
INTELLIGENCE (BPP)."

1/21/75

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)
FROM: SAC, KANSAS CITY (100-12478) RUC

NEW LEFT
COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

Buded: 1/24/75

Re St. Louis airtel to Bureau, 1/13/75.

St. Louis airtel to Bureau, dated 10/15/68
and St. Louis airtel to Bureau, dated 10/29/68, both
captioned, "COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT" classified in
accordance with instructions in referenced St. Louis
airtel.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - St. Louis (100-21213) (INFO) (RM)
1 - Kansas City
JPH:cd
(4)

100-21213-100

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>em</i>	FILED <i>em</i>
JAN 23 1975	
FBI - ST. LOUIS	

Ahler

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Teacher Harassed By FBI

Compiled From News Services

WASHINGTON, Jan. 29—The Counterintelligence Program of the Federal Bureau of Investigation attempted to encourage the dismissal of an Arizona State University professor in 1970 by filing an anonymous, derogatory letter about him with a college committee that was reviewing his teaching contract, documents from FBI files show.

The documents were given to the professor, Morris J. Starsky of Los Angeles, by Attorney General William B. Saxbe yesterday after Starsky appealed under the terms of the Freedom of Information Act. The documents were made available to the New York Times.

It is the first documented incident of harassment of a private citizen by the Counterintelligence Program, known as Cointelpro.

The existence of the program was disclosed by Saxbe last November when he made public a 15-year review of the FBI's domestic and counterintelligence efforts.

The committee that conducted the review, a group that included FBI director Clarence M. Kelley, said some of the program's operations "can only be considered abhorrent in a free society."

Starsky was an associate professor at Arizona State University from 1964 until 1970 and was known as an outspoken supporter of liberal causes. He had organized the first antiwar teach-ins at the school and helped win campus rights for the Students for a Democratic Society. He was a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

The university committee to whom the derogatory letter had been directed ultimately recommended that Starsky not be dismissed. But the board of regents overruled the committee and arranged for Starsky to take a one-year

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pl-4, St. Louis Post-
Dispatch, St. Louis,
Missouri

Date: 1/29/75
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL
☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-101

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 30 1975	
FBI — SAINT LOUIS	

sabbatical from which "he would not return."

Starsky has contended in a lawsuit that he has been unable to find work as a professor since then and is now working in research.

Representatives of the Political Rights Defense Fund, working with the Socialist Workers Party, have made the documents available to a House judiciary subcommittee, which will begin an inquiry into FBI activities tomorrow.

The documents show that the authorization for the anonymous letter came directly from J. Edgar Hoover, the late FBI director, after a request had been filed by the senior agent in charge in the Phoenix field office.

Under orders from Saxbe, the bureau gave 14 pages of documents to Starsky, including cables between the Phoenix field office and the Washington FBI headquarters and other internal memorandums.

The documents were heavily edited with Saxbe's authorization, on the ground that the deleted parts might "compromise confidential FBI sources" or that they discuss law enforcement matters not covered by the Counterintelligence Program or dealt with internal policy-making decisions. Four documents involving Starsky were withheld, Saxbe said in a letter to Starsky's attorney.

The first document, dated May 31, 1968, said: "It is apparent that New Left organizations and activities in the Phoenix metropolitan area have received their inspiration and leadership almost exclusively from the members of the faculty in the Department of Philosophy at Arizona State University, chiefly assistant Prof. Morris J. Starsky. The most logical targets for potential counterintelligence action locally are therefore pretty obvious."

Meanwhile, a federal appeals court has been asked to order the Federal Bureau of Investigation to divulge specific

details of its program to monitor and allegedly disrupt New Left activities in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The request was filed with the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, in Philadelphia, by New Jersey attorneys for Lori Paton, a 17-year-old student whose name went into FBI subversive files in 1973 after a letter she sent to the Socialist Workers Party had been intercepted. The letter was part of a school assignment.

Miss Paton had her name expunged from the files last year by order of U.S. District Judge James A. Coolahan. But the judge rejected her request for \$65,000 in damages and dismissed the case before it came to trial. A trial might have exposed details of the FBI's surveillance program, which Miss Paton and others assert was an illegal operation.

Miss Paton's attorneys asked yesterday that the case be ordered reopened and that details of the FBI Counterintelligence Program be given to them.

Airtel

2/24/75

To: SACs Chicago
New York
St. Louis ✓

From: Director, FBI (100-449698)

NEW LEFT COUNTER-
INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

- 100 - 21213*

ReBuairtel to Albany 12/24/74 and SLairtel 1/13/75 which indicated St. Louis had classified numerous documents located in its file captioned as above, and requested advice as to whether other documents should be classified:

The Bureau has reviewed its copy of all these documents and the following information and instructions are set out. If a communication listed in referenced St. Louis airtel is not mentioned below, you may assume the Bureau has classified its copy in accordance with data furnished in referenced St. Louis airtel.

The following documents do not warrant classification and are, therefore, to be declassified:

St. Louis letter to Bureau dated 5/28/68.

St. Louis letter to Bureau dated 6/27/68.

St. Louis letter to Bureau dated 10/23/68.

St. Louis airtel to Bureau dated 11/6/68.

St. Louis airtel to Bureau dated 12/16/68.

St. Louis airtel to Bureau dated 7/11/69.

100-21213-102

SEARCHED <i>mlw</i>	INDEXED <i>mlw</i>
SERIALIZED <i>mlw</i>	FILED <i>SC</i>
FEB 24 1975	
FBI - ST. LOUIS	

Ahler

Airtel to Chicago
New York
St. Louis
Re: New Left Counterintelligence
Program
100-449698

St. Louis letter to Bureau dated 5/26/69, copy to Chicago and New York.

St. Louis letter to Bureau dated 6/3/69.

Both St. Louis letters to Bureau dated 6/27/69, copy of the one concerning Black Nationalist groups to New York.

St. Louis letter to Bureau dated 9/2/69, copy to New York.

St. Louis letter to Bureau dated 12/5/69.

St. Louis letter to Bureau dated 1/19/70.

The following documents were previously classified "Confidential" at the Bureau and your copies should reflect this data rather than that furnished by St. Louis:

St. Louis letter to Bureau 10/8/70 (Category 2 by 6136 on 12/4/74).

St. Louis letter to Bureau 1/12/71 (Category 2 by 6922 on 12/2/74).

St. Louis letter to Bureau 3/30/71 (Category 2 by 6922 on 12/2/74).

The following documents do not warrant classifications and are, therefore, not to be classified by St. Louis:

Bureau letter to Albany 5/10/68.

Bureau letter to Albany 5/23/68.

Bureau letter to Albany 5/28/68.

Bureau letter to Albany 7/5/68.

Airtel to Chicago
New York
St. Louis
Re: New Left Counterintelligence
Program
100-449698

Bureau airtel to Albany 10/9/68.

Bureau letter to St. Louis 10/18/68.

Bureau letter to St. Louis 11/15/68.

Bureau airtel to St. Louis 1/29/69.

Bureau letter to St. Louis 3/28/69.

Bureau letter to St. Louis 1/30/70.

Bureau letter to Albany 4/8/71.

The following documents have been classified
"Confidential," Category 2 by 3347 on 2/5/75 and St. Louis
should classify those copies accordingly:

X Bureau airtel to St. Louis 2/20/69.

Bureau letter to St. Louis 5/12/71.

St. Louis should also note that per Bureau airtel
to all offices 1/14/75, "Counterintelligence Program; Soviet-
Bloc Intelligence Services; IS - R," the 4/28/71 Bureau airtel
to Albany, "Counterintelligence Program (Cointelpros); Internal
Security - Racial Matters" is not to be classified, data on work
sheets to the contrary notwithstanding.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Disputes FBI On Spying Date

©1975 New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24 — Despite assurances by the Department of Justice that the Federal Bureau of Investigation's counterintelligence program was halted in April 1971, a former undercover operative says the FBI continued as late as last June to employ program-style techniques against domestic political groups.

The former operative, Joseph A. Burton, told the New York Times of activities he carried out for the FBI that appear similar to several of the categories of "dirty tricks" that characterized the counterintelligence program.

Burton's account included examples of bogus documents, informants and sham "revolutionary" front groups used to disrupt a variety of political activities in this country.

He told also of infiltrating labor unions and, with other FBI undercover operatives, of reporting to the FBI on the Republican National Convention at Miami Beach in 1972, and of encouraging and assisting demonstrations against the Nixon Administration over the Watergate scandals.

An FBI spokesman termed many of Burton's allegations "distorted or false" in a statement issued yesterday.

The spokesman repeated that the program effort had not continued beyond April 1971 and maintained that the FBI had not instructed Burton to join or report on any labor unions. He said the FBI had no knowledge of his involvement in any "violent" demonstrations at the Miami convention.

The program is expected to be investigated by the select committees that the Senate and House have recently set up to examine intelligence gathering by federal agencies.

It was described in a report by the Justice Department last November as a 17-year attempt to disrupt, expose or neutralize such organizations as the Communist Party and the Ku Klux Klan.

Burton, who lives in Tampa, Fla., said he and other undercover intelligence agents operated bogus "Communist" organizations, set up with the assistance of the FBI, to help them gain a foothold with radicals.

For more than two years, Burton headed the "Red Star Cadre," ostensibly a pro-Communist Chinese organization that he said he formed in May 1972 "at the direction of the bureau," and directed until he left the FBI in July 1974.

The FBI, he said, supplied him with everything from the name to operating funds to T-shirts bearing a large red star and the legend "Fight Back," which he and his radical comrades wore to demonstrations.

The function of the "Red Star Cadre," he said, was to "make other organizations come to us and want to discuss ideology."

He was successful in this, he said, as well as in attracting as members radicals in whom the FBI was interested.

Burton said his first out-of-town assignment was to "cover" the demonstrations at the Republican National Convention, to which he and other Red Star members traveled at the FBI's expense.

Miami agents suggested that he try to get into one of the groups that later engaged in violence around the convention site.

But he said he demurred on the ground that "the type of left philosophy that I was expounding at that time would not have condoned my doing that."

"The only thing I helped to do," he said, "was incite

people to turn over one of the buses and then told them that if they really wanted to blow the bus up, to stick a rag in

the gas tank and light it."

The protesters, he said, were unable to overturn the vehicle.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P8A, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 2/24/75
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL
☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-103

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 26 1975	
FBI — SAINT LOUIS	

3/5/75

Airtel

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel to Chicago, New York, and St. Louis, dated 2/24/75.

NYO has, in accordance with referenced airtel, declassified the following documents:

St. Louis letter to Bureau, dated 5/26/69, captioned "COINTELPRO, BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS, NEW LEFT MOVEMENT".

St. Louis letter to Bureau, dated 6/27/69, captioned "COINTELPRO, BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS, NEW LEFT".

St. Louis letter to Bureau, dated 9/2/69, captioned "COINTELPRO, BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS, RACIAL INTELLIGENCE".

NYO will keep this matter in pending status for a reasonable time in order to comply with any additional instructions

2-Bureau (RM)
② St. Louis (157-5818) (INFO) (RM)
① 100-21213
1-New York (100-163303) (NEW LEFT COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)
1-New York

GHS:HT
(6)

100-21213-104

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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MAR 7 1975	
FBI - ST. LOUIS	

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NY 100-161140

from other auxiliary offices, or from the Bureau, which may pertain to this matter.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

'Socialists worker says' harassment continues

By Associated Press

WASHINGTON. — The FBI carried out 41 separate operations to disrupt the Socialist Workers Party by sabotaging political campaigns and damaging personal and professional reputations, according to 3,000 pages of newly disclosed FBI documents.

Party leaders said Wednesday they have evidence that the FBI is continuing the harassing tactics despite director Clarence M. Kelley's insistence that the operation ended in April, 1971.

THE DOCUMENTS show that FBI officials conspired "to try to drive a legal political party out of existence because they don't like its ideas," said Peter Camejo, the party's 1976 presidential candidate. "Has it stopped? Absolutely not."

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, said, "We have evidence which we have presented in federal court that the FBI continues its politically motivated disruptive activities up to this very day."

The defense fund, a nonprofit New York organization, is financing the party's \$27 million damage suit against the FBI.

At a news conference, Stapleton and Camejo released a list of 50 incidents which have occurred since J. Edgar Hoover's order terminating the counterintelligence programs, known as COINTELPRO, against the Socialist Workers and other groups ranging from the Ku Klux Klan to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

THE LIST TOLD of visits by FBI agents to party members, their relatives and employers to solicit information about Socialist Workers activities. The list said the agents often characterized the party and its members as subversive or potentially violent.

"We do not advocate violence, we do not violate the law," Camejo said. "The 1st Amendment has no meaning if it does not protect persons like myself who enter a campaign to advocate a point of view which is still a minority point of view."

He said the incidents described in the documents, yielded by the FBI under orders from a federal judge, damaged the party.

The FBI declined to comment. Kelley has consistently defended the COINTELPRO operations as an attempt "to counter the conspiratorial efforts of revolutionary elements in this country."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P10A, St. Louis
Globe-Democrat, St.
Louis, Missouri

Date: 3/20/75

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

100-5238 (SWP)
or 100-23236 (PRDF)

Classification: 100-21213(COINTEL-
Submitting Office: SL PRO)

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-105

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 21 1975	
FBI — SAINT LOUIS	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI role: Guarding internal security

By VICTOR RIESEL



WASHINGTON — It would be a thermonuclear pity if the FBI were harassed out of operating as should any normal counterintelligence force directed by the law and presidential order to defend America's internal security.

There are scores of neo-revolutionary bands in the U.S. dedicated to the destruction of the government, and to the physical blasting of its buildings, and to the bombing of industrial plants, banks and corporate headquarters — as well as dedication to the killing of "capitalists."

In recent weeks at least three highly respected and responsible officials, one on the House Armed Services Committee, another in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and a third, the director of a top research group, have worried aloud about possible "bootleg" atomic bombs. And terror.

And it's not a matter of the civil rights of such "dedicated" young revolutionists. It's a matter of not permitting them to deny others the right to live, run a union, a business, federal buildings and the State Department, for example.

Thus it was the late President Franklin Roosevelt who first ordered the FBI to protect the nation's internal security. That was in September 1939. This was confirmed by Dwight Eisenhower. The directive was not rescinded by John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson or Dick Nixon.

☆ ☆ ☆

SO THE FBI has operated as any other national counterintelligence would. It may not have been to the bureau's liking. Nor to the principles of civil libertarian groups. But that's the nature of all effective counterintelligence services, including the Soviets' "Chekists" (KGB operatives).

The intelligence force's objective is to infiltrate and to disrupt.

That's the law as interpreted by each counterintelligence director. If this offends the decent sensitivities of observers, then it must be remembered that there have been thousands of bombings in the past five years. Some of them have been labor-oriented, some aimed at banks, businesses, factories and federal buildings.

Scores have been killed. Some maimed. Millions of dollars worth of property has been blasted.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pl8A, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Mo.

Date: **3/26/75**

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification: **100-21213**
Submitting Office: **(COINTELPRO)**

SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-106

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 27 1975	
FBI — SAINT LOUIS	

So the FBI has infiltrated virtually all such violence-oriented organizations. It's best expressed by one of the most knowledgeable and experienced authorities our intelligence forces ever has produced:

"The theory is to keep them busy internally," he said the other day. "Disrupt them. Keep them fighting factionally. Cause dissension inside. Absorb their time with internal discussions. Send them false information. Cause suspicion. So they don't trust each other.

"Of course, this is done only after an investigation proves to the FBI that the group is dedicated to overthrowing the government by force and violence. The leaders of a group are identified. Then they are kept off balance. The attempt is made to have the group's leader distrust his secretary, or treasurer or vice president. Letters are written saying that one or the other is an informer for government agencies or leaking the records to the Treasury Department.

"Basically the point is to occupy their time away from revolutionary endeavor. Say, if a meeting is scheduled one place, fake telegrams are sent telling of last-minute changes to another city, crossing their signals. False information is used. That's the way intelligence services have operated for centuries.

"In other words, the intelligence service gives them a dose of their own tactics. They infiltrate each other, those revolutionary and traditional Communist organizations do."

☆ ☆ ☆

NOW MATCH what this source says with some statistics.

According to FBI director Clarence Kelley, 24 persons were killed and 206 persons injured in 2,041 actual and attempted bombings in the U.S. in '74. And the explosive tempo continues. This past January there were 149 bombings throughout the U.S. and Puerto Rico. Twelve persons were killed. At least 73 were injured.

Late last year five bombs went off in 30 minutes in Manhattan's financial district, hitting major banks and corporations.

As for what the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms refers to as "labor-oriented" bombings (and perhaps the recent one which wiped out the Shelton, Conn., rubber plant), there were 163 such blasts between January '72 and November '74. There is little evidence that any of these were Weatherpeople's attacks. So there are other bands roving the land.

Thus what the national opinion-makers must decide is — which is the greater "harassemnt"? Do we want a counterintelligence system? If so, as Lenin said, you can't scramble an egg without breaking it.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC SL 100-21213 C

DATE: 4/16/75

FROM : SA Wm J. Allen

SUBJECT: NL - Cointelpro
Rebuanitel 2/24/75

Classification + declassification
in accordance with reanitel have
been completed.

Suggest close

~~close~~
rom

100-21213-107

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FBI - ST. LOUIS	

rom



DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

5/7/75

SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (C)

COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (COINTELPRO)
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS
RACIAL MATTERS

ReNYairtel to Director, dated 3/5/75.

In referenced airtel NYO indicated that the captioned matter would be kept in a pending status for a reasonable time in order to comply with any additional instructions from auxiliary offices, or from the Bureau, pertaining to this matter.

Inasmuch as no such additional instructions have been forthcoming, NYO is herewith closing this matter.

2-Bureau (RM)
② St. Louis (157-5818) (INFO) (RM)
(1-100-21213) (INFO)
1-New York

GHS:tmw
(5)

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FBI-ST. LOUIS	

[Signature]

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Alleged FBI Letter to King Interpreted as Suicide Hint

By JOSEPH VOLZ
Globe-Democrat-
New York News Service

WASHINGTON — The FBI sent an anonymous letter to the late civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1964 which Dr. King took as a suggestion to commit suicide or be publicly discredited, the Senate Intelligence Committee said Tuesday.

The letter was found in the files of William Sullivan, retired FBI domestic intelligence chief, who contends it was "planted" there.

Written a month before Dr. King was to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, the letter warned Dr. King: "You have just 34 days left. . . you are done. There is just one way out for you."

COMMITTEE SOURCES said that the

many arrests or even much important intelligence resulted from the program. He said that 530,000 intelligence dossiers were compiled.

NO PUBLIC figure received the attention the FBI gave Dr. King after he began publicly to criticize Hoover, whose agency employed only a handful of blacks at the time.

In 1963, Sullivan presented a plan "to reduce King completely in influence. Obvious confusion will reign." In 1963 and 1964, the FBI planted microphones in the New York and Atlanta offices of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in Dr. King's home, and in his hotel rooms at the Republican and Democratic national conventions.

King family interpreted the letter as a warning to him to commit suicide or risk that elements of his personal life be exposed.

Dr. King, a bitter critic of the late FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, was just one of thousands of Americans — ranging from the

False letters used locally? . . . 3A

Black Panthers to Women's Liberation groups — infiltrated, wiretapped or harassed by FBI domestic intelligence programs in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Senate Committee staffers testified Tuesday.

But Curtis Smothers, an assistant counsel for the committee, said that an extensive review of FBI records failed to show that

Cartha (Deke) DeLoach, a top Hoover aide who was liaison to the Johnson White House, headed the King surveillance at the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City. An FBI memo notes that DeLoach was able to advise the White House in advance of Dr. King's plans.

Some FBI agents attended Southern Christian Leadership press conferences, posing as NBC reporters — with the cooperation of NBC, the committee said.

OTHER FBI tactics against Dr. King included:

— Trying to prevent him from meeting with Pope Paul VI in 1964 by asking the late Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York

Continued on Page 15A

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1A ST. LOUIS
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FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

Alleged FBI letter to King

Continued from Page 1A

to protest. The Cardinal did so, but the Pope met with King anyway.

- A proposal in the 1960s that FBI agents ask then-New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, planning a Latin American trip, not to meet with Dr. King first. The committee had no record that the FBI plan was successful.

- A program to influence "friendly" congressmen to oppose legislation pending in Congress which would have made King's birthday a national holiday.

Smother said that the anti-King program continued even though FBI intelligence experts had reported that Communist Party efforts over 40 years to take over black protest groups had failed.

AMONG OTHER harassment tactics against antiwar groups, political dissidents, and black and white hate groups according to the committee, were:

- A New York FBI office proposal to sabotage a printing press being brought into the country by the U.S. Communist Party.

- A successful program to prevent an antiwar group from renting a plane and dropping flowers over Washington as a symbolic protest. An FBI agent answered the group's advertisement for a pilot, but failed to show up at the airport, sticking the protest leader with 200 pounds of flowers.

- Investigating Black Muslims and their children in an effort to shut down their elementary school in Washington.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Sordid FBI Tactics

The latest disclosures of the FBI's attempts to ruin the private lives of citizens involved in activities it disapproved of makes it hard to imagine that there was any tactic too sordid for this federal agency to use. Documents made public by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence now reveal that in 1969 and 1970 the FBI, in order to undermine the effectiveness of ACTION and the Black Liberators in St. Louis, fabricated anonymous letters accusing members of these groups of being unfaithful in their marriages. The St. Louis letters, the documents indicated, were only a part of a wide-ranging attempt by the FBI to spy on and disrupt organizations that the agency considered subversive or undesirable.

Previous congressional inquiries and court suits have already produced evidence that the FBI over many years engaged in illegal mail-opening, burglaries, kidnaping, spying, and the fabrication of material to harm the lives and careers of people on its list of undesirables. A phony letter was used to frighten a black civil rights worker into leaving Mississippi. An anonymous derogatory letter was used to force an Arizona State University professor out of his job. As part of a sustained campaign to discredit and destroy the late Dr. Martin Luther King as a national civil rights leader, because of his criticism of the FBI, the agency, the Senate committee was told, sent him what amounted to a "blackmail" letter designed to get him to commit suicide.

Evidently in an effort to prevent the discovery of such despicable practices, many of the agency's files were destroyed just before or just after the death of the late director, J. Edgar Hoover. But, according to members of the Socialist Workers Party, one of the targets of FBI harassment, disruptive tactics against law-abiding organizations and citizens apparently are still being used. It is about time for the Attorney General or Congress to inform the FBI that its mission is to enforce the law, not to violate it in pursuit of its own distorted notions as to who should or should not enjoy civil rights.

portion of local education. The constitution also requires a balanced budget, and if this means raising taxes then so be it. In a state where taxes are not relatively high, the Governor can and should meet his constitutional obligation to help schools and to balance the budget, if necessary by raising taxes. Although it is not at all certain whether higher taxes would be needed to finance the additional school funds, the Senate ought not to emulate the Governor in this matter. Mr. Walker's refusal to consider even the slightest tax increase is based primarily on political expedience. And that should scarcely be the principal consideration on so important an issue.

Spies Everywhere?

The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, warned by Senator Goldwater that Soviet agents are active on Capitol Hill, has asked FBI and military counterintelligence officials to report what they are doing about it. Senator Goldwater has it that Soviet spies have infiltrated every major industry, every major business, and "know what's going on in the committees of Congress." That is sometimes more than the American people know, but it should be added that the FBI has already assured Congress it found no infiltration on the Hill. International espionage is an unfortunate contemporary fact of life. Still we would not be surprised if what the Select Committee on Intelligence expects to hear is that the Senator From Arizona exaggerated the situation more than somewhat.

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2B (Editorial Page)

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FBI - SAINT LOUIS

Int. B. 11/20/75

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

St. Louis Wants FBI Curbed

By MARTHA SHIRK
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

A civil rights worker in St. Louis whom the Federal Bureau of Investigation tried to discredit in an anonymous letter to her husband in 1970 has called for legislation to "end the FBI's harassment of political groups."

The woman, who is white, is a former officeholder in the civil rights group ACTION and in the St. Louis Chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She agreed to a telephone interview last night on the condition that her name be withheld.

Documents made public yesterday by the United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence include a copy of a handwritten letter sent to the woman's husband in the spring of 1970 implying that she had been having sexual relations with black members of ACTION.

A memorandum from the St. Louis FBI office to then-FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said the letter had been sent to cause matrimonial strain, which the bureau "oped would make the woman function much less effectively in ACTION."

The woman says it did.

She was divorced from her husband within a year and forced to curtail her political activities and seek full-time work.

And another memo to Hoover from St. Louis said, "While the letter sent by the St. Louis division was probably not the sole cause of the separation, it certainly contributed very strongly."

The woman, since remarried, said, "I don't think there's any marriage that wouldn't be shaken by accusations like that. Even a good marriage would have problems. And in a marriage already having difficulties, that letter could cause real strain."

The letter, which was littered with grammatical and punctuation errors, stated:

"Look man I guess your old lady doesn't get enough at home or she wouldn't be shucking and jiving with our Black Men in ACTION, you dig? Like all she wants to integrate is the bed room and us Black Sisters ain't gonna take no second best from our men. So lay it on her, man—or get her the hell off Newstead." It was signed, "A Soul Sister."

The Newstead reference is to ACTION'S headquarters, 4154 North Newstead Avenue.

The woman, who is in her late 30s, has three children and two stepchildren.

She said she was disturbed greatly by what she called the racism implicit in the style used by FBI in writing the letter and by its attempt to discredit black women by depicting them as jealous of white women.

"This is an old trick, using sexual issues to destroy good working relationships between blacks and whites," she said. "I would hope that people would read it and say, 'Oh, my God, is that what's coming out of our public agencies?'"

The woman saw the note about a month ago when a staff member of the Senate Select Committee notified her that it would be introduced yesterday. The committee is studying allegations of illegal activities by the FBI.

The woman's first husband had informed her when he received the anonymous note, she said, but she had not then read the contents. "I was quite simply shocked when I actually saw it," she said.

"It's a very frightening thing to find out that one has no freedom to picket for

port self-determination for Vietnam without jeopardizing one's marriage," she said. "And that's all I really did."

"What I am most shocked about, I guess, is that a freedom I thought I had—the right to protest peacefully—didn't really exist. It is incredible that a Government agency would be so unfeeling as to try to destroy someone's personal life to keep them from acting politically."

The woman hopes that publicity about such activities by the FBI will "serve to vindicate those people who have been falsely accused."

"I would like to see some legislation coming out of this that would prevent this from happening to somebody else—or to me again," she said.

Another anonymous letter written by St. Louis FBI agents in 1969 involved an unidentified black man involved in the Black Liberators, a local civil rights group that no longer exists.

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FBI - ST. LOUIS

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A memo dated Feb. 14, 1969, from the St. Louis FBI office to Hoover indicated that the target was separated from his wife. Permission was granted by Hoover on Feb. 28, 1969, to send the man's wife a letter hinting that her husband had been unfaithful.

Frank Washington of Wellston, who was involved in the organization, said last night that such a letter had been received by the wife of one of the group's members. Washington refused to divulge the man's name.

The letter stated: "Us Black Liberators are trained to respect Black Women and special are wives and girls. Brother (name deleted) keeps tellin the Brothers this but he dont treat you that way. I only been in the organisation 2 months, but (named deleted) been maken it here with Sister Marva and Sister Tony and than he gives us this jive bout their better in bed then you are and how he keeps you off his back by senden you a little dough ever now an then.

"He says he gotta send you money (unintelligible.) The draft board gonna chuck him in the army or somechen. This aint rite, and were sayen that (name deleted) is treeten you wrong." It was signed, "A Black Liberator."

An FBI memo presented to the committee said the letter "was prepared from a penmanship, spelling and vocabulary style to imitate the average Black Liberator."

Percy Green, the chairman of ACTION, said last night that the group had suspected the FBI of meddling in its affairs since action was founded 10 years ago.

"And we have no reason to believe that they have ceased," Green said. "For them to admit to two instances of dirty tricks means that there are a lot more cases involved. These are probably the cleanest ones."

Harlan Phillips, special agent in charge of the FBI here, said yesterday that he was unfamiliar with the activities described during the Senate hearings.

"To my knowledge, there is nothing of that sort going on now, and I am sure, with the checks we have, that I would know if it were," Phillips said.

J. Wallace LaPrade, an assistant director of the bureau now serving in the New York office, was in charge of the St. Louis operations during most of 1969 and all of 1970. He refused to comment today.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI sent 2 defaming letters to spouses of local activists

Letters apparently sent by the FBI's St. Louis office in 1969 and 1970 in attempts to break up the marriages of two local black activist figures were released by the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Tuesday.

The documents were among many released, outlining FBI activities going back before World War II to discredit groups and individuals ranging from the Communist Party, U.S.A., to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The two letters sent locally were to a member of the group ACTION and to a member of another organization called the Black Liberators. In neither case were the names of the persons involved kept in the documents.

THE 1970 LETTER was sent to the husband of a woman described in an FBI memo as a "local New Left figure who is an officer in ACTION" and a member of the St. Louis Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The memo termed ACTION as "a local black activist group whose members have engaged in numerous acts of civil disruption and disobedience."

The letter, with deliberate misspellings, stated:

"Dear Ms. — — —

"Look man, I guess your old lady doesn't get enough at home or she wouldn't be shucking and jiving with our Black Men in ACTION, you dig? Like all she wants to integrate is the bedroom, and us Black Sisters ain't gonna take no second best from our men. So lay it on her man—or get her the hell off Newstead.

"A Soul Sister."

IN BOTH LETTERS words were misspelled in an apparent attempt to lend credibility to the documents.

The second letter, mailed in 1969 to the wife of a member of the Black Liberators, was submitted to the Senate committee accompanied by an FBI memo that read:

"The enclosed letter was prepared from a penmanship, spelling and vocabulary style to imitate the average Black Liberator."

The letter itself read:

"Sister

"Us Black Liberators are trained to respect Black

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

3A ST. LOUIS
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Women and special are the wife and girls. Brother ----- keeps tellin the Brothers this. but he don't treat you that way. I only been in the organisation 2 months, but -----been; maken it here with ----- then he gives us this jive bout their better in bed then you are and how he keeps you off his back by senden you a little daugh ever now and then—

"He says he gotta send you money. The draft board gonna chuck him in the army somethen. This aint rite, and we're sayen that is treeten you wrong—

"A Black Liberator."

A REPORT TO FORMER FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover dated June 19, 1970, from the St. Louis FBI office said that the ACTION member and husband had "recently separated, following a series of marital arguments."

"While the letter sent by the St. Louis division (of the FBI) was probably not the sole cause of the separation, it certainly contributed very strongly," the memo, headed "Black Nationalist—hate groups," said.

A similar memo dated Feb. 14, 1969, from the FBI's St. Louis office, said that the man who was the apparent target of the second letter was then separated from his wife.

PERMISSION TO SEND the letter to the wife of the Black Liberator was gained from Hoover in a memo dated Feb. 28, 1969, but it was not indicated on the memo whether the letter was actually sent.

Hoover also approved a scheme by the local FBI office to disrupt the Black Liberators by making it known to them that the letter had been sent.

"The Black Liberators will waste a great deal of time trying to discover the writer of the letter," a letter from the local FBI office to Hoover says. "It is possible that their not-too-subtle investigation will lose present members and alienate potential ones."

W. Raymond Wannall, assistant director of the FBI's intelligence division, and James Adams, FBI assistant deputy director, are expected to respond Wednesday to the testimony presented to the committee Tuesday.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Reports Agnew Effort To Discredit SCLC

By ROBERT L. JOINER

A Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20 — Vice President Spiro T. Agnew asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1969 to supply him with information that could be used to embarrass and discredit leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy said yesterday. He said FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover complied with the request.

The Rev. Dr. Abernathy, national chairman of the conference, said an investigator for the Senate Intelligence Committee visited Atlanta last week and showed him copies of the correspondence between Agnew and Hoover.

The Rev. Dr. Abernathy joined other black leaders in condemning the use of the FBI for political purposes as well as deploring FBI tactics that some said were aimed at destroying the civil rights movement and "black leadership in America."

Abernathy's statement came two days after Senate investigators disclosed that Hoover went to great length to discredit the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., founder of the conference, through an undercover campaign that included an anonymous blackmail letter.

Investigators have alleged that the FBI's smear campaign was aimed at replacing the Rev. Dr. King with a "new national Negro leader" whose views were compatible with those of the agency.

The Rev. Dr. Abernathy, reached by telephone yesterday before a speaking engagement in Kansas City, said he was only mildly surprised by the FBI's actions. In reference to the Agnew memorandum, he said that he did not recall the exact wording, but said that he remembered that Agnew specifically requested information that would discredit officers of the national conference.

The Rev. Dr. Abernathy became chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference after the Rev. Dr. King was assassinated in 1968. The Rev. Dr. Abernathy had been the Rev. Dr. King's assistant.

The Rev. Dr. Abernathy said yesterday...

Senate investigator that showed the former Vice President was seeking ways to silence the leadership of SCLC and to destroy its effectiveness. He was seeking something in my personal life that was not complimentary.

"The Agnew memo suggested that I must be stopped because I had great appeal to the masses and that he considered me to be effective in destroying the system under which we lived."

The civil rights leader paraphrased the Agnew memo as asking Hoover to "find anything in his (Abernathy's) personal life that we might use to embarrass and stop him."

Hoover responded in a memo that called the Rev. Dr. Abernathy "one of

the most dangerous in the whole crowd" and agreed to supply Agnew with "all the information we can get," the Rev. Dr. Abernathy said.

"These were attempts to embarrass the SCLC and the movement," the Rev. Dr. Abernathy stated. "I'm sure this and other revelations will come out of the Senate investigation."

He recalled the FBI's letter to the Rev. Dr. King, which he said conference officers interpreted as a suggestion that the Rev. Dr. King commit suicide.

"When the letter came, it was not signed by the FBI and we thought it was a letter from a demented individual associated with the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Council," the Rev. Dr. Abernathy said. "But we were aware that we were being kept under constant surveillance by the FBI all along."

The disclosures of FBI campaigns against black leaders have rekindled a drive by some civil rights leaders and some members of Congress to get the Government to reopen the investigation into the assassination of the Rev. Dr. King.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, a King associate who now heads People United to Save Humanity, Chicago group, said that the disclosures were "just one more concrete revelation which reconfirms and gives credence to the fact that the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency were involved in the assassination of King, Robert Kennedy, John F. Kennedy and Malcolm X."

The Rev. Mr. Jackson said this "is just one more reason why the public

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investigation of these assassinations should be reopened . . ."

He said, however, that the FBI harassment had little impact on the Rev. Dr. King's work for social justice and peace.

"Given the series of revelations regarding the lawlessness and un-American activities surrounding Mr. Hoover, I call for the removal of his name from the building that was constructed in his honor," the Rev. Mr. Jackson said. "It is a symbol of disgrace and dishonor and does not represent the commitment to law that America says it stands for."

Hosea Williams, head of the Atlanta chapter of the leadership conference, said that if all FBI tactics were made public, it would "make Watergate look like an Easter egg hunt."

"I'd like to make it clear that this thing is much bigger than Martin Luther King Jr. or any other single black American," Williams said. "This thing represents an organized conspiracy to destroy black leadership in America in order to stop the thrust of blacks to become equal citizens in this country."

United States Representative Andrew Young, a Georgia Democrat who was executive vice president of the conference until 1970, said the disclosures showed that the FBI was misusing its resources.

"The tragedy is that instead of fighting organized crime, the FBI is trying to destroy black leadership," Young said. "It is seeking to destroy someone who operated within the framework of the

courts, the Congress and under the Constitution."

But Young said he was not convinced that the FBI was in collusion with others in connection with the killing of the Rev. Dr. King.

"I haven't seen any evidence along that line," he said. "But the recent revelation is helping to build up circumstantial evidence of this sort in a lot of people's minds."

Like the Rev. Dr. Abernathy, Young said that the FBI continued to harass members and former members of the conference long after the death of the Rev. Dr. King.

"In fact, I believe that's why I lost my House campaign in 1970," Young said. "There was a lot of outside interference. At one point, the FBI tried to portray

me as a member of the Black Panther Party and that made me lose a lot of votes."

Young, after losing in 1970, ran again and won in 1972.

Walter E. Fauntroy (Dem.), delegate to congress from the District of Columbia, said he was fully aware of the revelations about the FBI before the disclosure by the Senate Intelligence Committee. Fauntroy is black and was closely associated with the Rev. Dr. King in civil rights activities.

"I hope the truth continues to come out so that we can find out how Dr. King's assassination came about," Fauntroy said. "There's no doubt in my mind that the assassination was a well-planned conspiracy, possibly involving Government officials."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

ACLU offers aid to possible FBI targets

The local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union has announced it will assist persons in determining if they have been the target of FBI surveillance or harassment.

The announcement comes in the wake of disclosures by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence concerning FBI intelligence operations, termed as "the most outrageous of a long string of abuses by the FBI" in an ACLU statement.

"It appears the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover was leading a double life," the ACLU statement said. "On the surface it was the admired police arm of the government, and secretly it was engaged in illegal harassing and spying."

The ACLU will assist persons who think they have been the target of such activity in applying under the Freedom of Information Act for copies of any information concerning them gathered by the FBI.

The local ACLU office, at 8011 Clayton rd., can be reached by calling 721-1215.

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10C ST. LOUIS
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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Dr. King Harassment

Unjust, FBI Concedes

By ROBERT ADAMS
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19 — A high official at the Federal Bureau of Investigation said today he could find no justification for a campaign waged by the FBI to discredit the late Dr. Martin Luther King.

The official, James Adams, assistant deputy director of the FBI, made the admission in testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee.

Adams conceded also that there was no legal basis for certain other activities undertaken by the FBI to disrupt so-called subversive or extremist groups under the agency's counterintelligence program, known as "Cointelpro."

Adams said, however, he believed that the FBI had acted in good faith in its attempts to counter what it perceived as a threat to the nation from such groups.

Adams said the FBI was no longer using techniques such as trying to break up marriages, which were described by committee investigators yesterday as a part of the FBI's Cointelpro operation.

On the campaign against the Rev. Dr. King, Adams was asked a series of questions about the legality or propriety of various actions the FBI undertook.

Senator Frank Church (Dem.), Idaho, chairman of the committee, asked whether there was any legal basis for the FBI to try to stop a university from giving the Rev. Dr. King an honorary degree.

"I know of no basis," Adams said.

Adams gave the same answer when asked whether the FBI was justified in trying to prevent the Rev. Dr. King from meeting with Pope Paul VI.

Adams did not agree, however, that an anonymous letter to the civil rights leader, saying he had "been on your way out," was necessarily an invitation for the civil rights leader to commit suicide. Testimony yesterday indicated that the Rev. Dr. King had interpreted the letter that way.

"It's a possibility," Adams said, "but I certainly would not reach such a conclusion from my reading of it." Adams said that because a copy of the letter was found in FBI files, and because the Rev. Dr. King did receive it, he assumed that the FBI had sent the letter, although he said there was no specific evidence that the FBI had actually done so.

Adams did say the FBI believed it had reason to investigate the civil rights leader. But on the attempts to discredit him, Adams said: "I know of no basis for that, and I will not attempt to justify it."

Adams said the surveillance of the Rev. Dr. King had been requested by the late Robert F. Kennedy when Kennedy was Attorney General.

Also today, Senator Richard Schweicker (Rep.), Pennsylvania, disclosed the fact that photographs of sexual activities were forwarded by the FBI to the White House in connection with a Johnson Administration request for information on critics of the Warren Commission report on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Asked whether such information was being gathered to discredit the critics, Adams said he did not know what the White House motive had been.

Adams said, however, that President Gerald R. Ford has issued orders indicating that any White House request to the FBI must be cleared with the

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Nov. 20 1975

White House counsel. He said he believed that this procedure would prevent Presidents or others in the White House from bypassing normal channels and getting information directly from the FBI.

It was disclosed also that in 1968, the FBI made Antioch College in Yellow Springs, O., a target of its disruptive activities. The FBI was authorized by then-Director J. Edgar Hoover to disseminate information that would "expose the pseudo-intellectual image of Antioch." The aim of the effort was to "force Antioch to defend itself as an educational institution," according to FBI documents made public by the committee today.

Adams said he could not justify that effort, either.

Senator Church, chairman of the panel, expressed concern at one point over the sheer size and number of the FBI's files on Americans. The FBI says there are 6,500,000 files.

"Pretty soon, you'll have us all in the system," Church remarked.

Other examples of FBI harassment and disruption of so-called extremists emerged in today's hearing. Senator Walter F. Mondale (Dem.), Minnesota, disclosed that in 1970 the FBI discussed the possibility of sending a telegram to a black group in Newark asserting that some food donated by whites to the group contained poison. Hoover apparently disapproved the idea, although he indicated that it had merit, Mondale said.

"How did we get to this point—this kind of incredible, insane suggestion, violating everybody's civil liberties, based on a Government-sponsored fraud?" Mondale demanded. "Why does anybody even consider something like this?"

"I don't know," Adams replied.

It was disclosed also that in 1971, FBI employees were instructed not to talk to representatives of the Washington Post, the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, CBS or NBC. The employees were told to give only "no comment" as an answer to inquiries from those organizations.

Adams said the directive might have been prompted by Hoover's reaction to what he considered to be unfair criticism. "It is not the policy today," Adams said.

Senator Gary Hart (Dem.), Colorado, elicited the fact that a few days before the Rev. Dr. King was shot to death in Memphis in 1968, the FBI had devised a scheme for alerting the news media to the fact that the rights leader — while calling on blacks to boycott white businesses — was staying at a white-owned Holiday Inn.

Hart said that a few days after the plan was devised, newspapers in Memphis did call attention to that fact. Later the Rev. Dr. King moved to a black-owned hotel—the hotel where he was shot. Hart was unable, however, to establish any direct connection between the FBI plan and the Rev. Dr. King's decision to move to another hotel.

Although he disowned many of the activities designed to disrupt so-called extremist groups, Adams defended some

of the controversial surveillance against Americans. He noted, for example, that some members of a women's liberation group in Baltimore, which was spied upon by the FBI, had belonged to radical groups in the past.

At the of the session today, church said he believed some of the FBI's techniques bordered on McCarthyism. Sometimes, he said, individuals apparently had to prove that they were not subversives, rather than being presumed law-abiding.

"When I see standards of this kind emerging, it worries me very much," Church said.

When he was asked how the FBI's Cointelpro began, Adams indicated that it started as an attempt to disrupt the Communist Party in the United States. He admitted that apparently the FBI had never asked for the approval of an Attorney General for such disruption, although he said that some Attorneys General were told after the fact and did not object.

Adams noted that in the 1960s there were riots in the cities, antiwar demonstrations and other upheavals. "We had an extremely violent time," he said.

The FBI, he went on, apparently felt that it had a responsibility to try to stop the groups it believed responsible — even though it had to go beyond the law to do so.

"This is the hangup with the whole program," Adams conceded. "I'm not saying there was a statutory basis (for the disruptions)."

The scope of the anti-King campaign was described yesterday by two top lawyers for the Senate Intelligence Committee, F. A. O. Schwarz III and Curtis Smothers. The FBI placed 16 bugs and eight wire taps on the Rev. Dr. King.

Smothers read from FBI memorandums in which he said the bureau had outlined its objective of taking King "off his pedestal and reducing him completely in influence."

The bureau earmarked a man of its own choosing to take the Rev. Dr. King's place as "a new national Negro leader."

One concerned the FBI's attempts to disrupt what it considered black extremist groups. In Baltimore, the FBI noted in 1968 that there was "a serious struggle" going on between the Black Panthers and a black group called US.

"The struggle had reached such proportions that it is taking the aura of gang warfare with attendant threats of murder and reprisals," noted an internal FBI memorandum dated Dec. 2, 1968.

Rather than try to stop the impending violence, however, the FBI spoke of exacerbating the tensions. "In order to fully capitalize upon" the situation, the document said, "as well as to exploit all avenues of creating further dissension in the ranks of the BPP (Black Panther

Party), recipient officers (of the FBI) are instructed to submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP."

Smothers, who is black, told the Senators he thought racism had been behind the suggestion.

"When it came to blacks, the most violent techniques were acceptable," Smothers said. "If they were going to have gang fights and were going to kill each other, it seemed to be a wonderful opportunity for the bureau to promote it."

Smothers said the FBI had also tried to exacerbate differences between the Black Panthers and the Blackstone Rangers in Chicago.

Schwarz said that there was no legal justification for many of the activities. The attorneys said they believed that the FBI had sometimes concealed their techniques from the Department of Justice.

Schwarz said that the FBI's attitude often had seemed to be that a target of surveillance was guilty until proved innocent. He cited the case of a New York

civil rights leader suspected of Communist sympathies.

When FBI agents could not find such evidence, their supervisors were not satisfied. The agents were told to keep investigating because there was nothing to prove that the man was anti-Communist, Schwarz said.

He said the nonviolent Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which the Rev. Dr. King headed, had been labeled as a violence-prone "black hate" group by the FBI.

At the Democratic National Convention in 1968, Schwarz said, the FBI used "disinformation" to harass demonstrators. The Chicago FBI office got 217 forms used by antiwar groups for housing demonstrators, and filled them out. The forms said that housing would be available at nonexistent addresses.

The demonstrators made "long and useless journeys" to find the nonexistent houses, Schwarz said. He said the Washington FBI office had done the same thing before the inauguration of former President Richard M. Nixon in 1969.

At one antiwar demonstration, Schwarz said, the FBI issued false commands to marshals over a citizens' band radio. In addition, it answered an advertisement by a man who said he wanted a plane to fly over the city and drop flowers. The FBI strung the man along until he showed up with 200 pounds of flowers and found no pilot, Schwarz said.

The FBI began by trying to disrupt Communist and Klan groups, the attorneys said. They produced a letter to a Klansman's wife charging her husband with adultery, and purportedly written by a woman Klan member. It was actually written by the FBI, they said.

In the 1960s, the FBI turned its sights toward black groups, antiwar groups and the New Left in general, they said.

Among the disclosures yesterday was that the FBI had infiltrated or spied on 15 groups at the Democratic National Convention in 1964 and had given reports to President Johnson.

An FBI document made public at the hearing said that NBC-TV news had given FBI agents press credentials so that they could pose as reporters. Using that ploy, the FBI said, "We were able to keep the White House fully apprised of all major developments during the convention's course."

The documents indicated also that John Doar, who was then in the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, had asked for FBI "name checks" on 40 persons in the leadership of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Doar was head counsel for the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment proceedings in 1974.

In a 1968 memorandum made public yesterday, Hoover spelled out in detail

the techniques to be used to harass and disrupt New Left groups.

The agents, the memo said, should prepare leaflets to counter the impression that Students for a Democratic Society and other groups spoke for most students. "Naturally, the most obnoxious pictures should be used" of the New Left leaders, the memo said.

The agents were also to instigate, or take advantage of, personal conflicts between New Left leaders. They were to send anonymous letters to the parents of students, to their parents' employers, to university officials, to university donors, and elsewhere depicting the New Left in the worst possible light.

Disruption of events was also to be used, Hoover said. "For example, when events are planned, notification that the event has been canceled or postponed could be sent to various individuals," he wrote. Hoover suggested producing the false impression that some New Left members were FBI informers.

"We have had a long recital of crimes that have in fact been undertaken by the FBI itself," Church said at the end of yesterday's hearing. "That's a very sad proposition."

Many Americans who were not even suspected of a crime, Church said, "were not only spied upon, but they were harassed, they were discredited, and at times endangered, by the covert operations of the FBI."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Reports Agnew Effort To Discredit SCLC

By **ROBERT L. JOINER**
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20 — Vice President Spiro T. Agnew asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1969 to supply him with information that could be used to embarrass and discredit leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy said yesterday. He said FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover complied with the request.

The Rev. Dr. Abernathy, national chairman of the conference, said an investigator for the Senate Intelligence Committee visited Atlanta last week and showed him copies of the correspondence between Agnew and Hoover.

The Rev. Dr. Abernathy joined other

black leaders in condemning the use of the FBI for political purposes as well as deploring FBI tactics that some said were aimed at destroying the civil rights movement and "black leadership in America."

Thomas Coll, a spokesman for the FBI in Washington, said he could neither confirm nor deny the Abernathy charges.

"I can't give you an answer one way or the other at this time," Coll said. "That would take a hell of a lot of research through extensive files and that would take a day or two."

Agnew could not be reached for comment.

Abernathy's statement came two days after Senate investigators disclosed that Hoover went to great length to discredit

founder of the conference, through an undercover campaign that included an anonymous blackmail letter.

Investigators have alleged that the FBI's smear campaign was aimed at replacing the Rev. Dr. King with a "new national Negro leader" whose views were compatible with those of the agency.

The Rev. Dr. Abernathy, reached by telephone yesterday before a speaking engagement in Kansas City, said he was only mildly surprised by the FBI's actions. In reference to the Agnew memorandum, he said that he did not recall the exact wording, but said that he remembered that Agnew specifically requested information that would dis-

credit officers of the national conference.

The Rev. Dr. Abernathy became chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference after the Rev. Dr. King was assassinated in 1968. The Rev. Dr. Abernathy had been the Rev. Dr. King's assistant.

The Rev. Dr. Abernathy said yesterday: "I was shown documents by a Senate investigator that showed the former Vice President was seeking ways to silence the leadership of SCLC and to destroy its effectiveness. He was seeking something in my personal life that was not complimentary."

"The Agnew memo suggested that I must be stopped because I had great appeal to the masses and that he

See FBI, Page 8

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

St. Louis Post
Dispatch
— Page 1A & 8A
St. Louis, Missouri

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI**FROM PAGE ONE**

considered me to be effective in destroying the system under which we lived."

The civil rights leader paraphrased the Agnew memo as asking Hoover to "find anything in his (Abernathy's) personal life that we might use to embarrass and stop him."

Hoover responded in a memo that called the Rev. Dr. Abernathy "one of the most dangerous in the whole crowd" and agreed to supply Agnew with "all the information we can get," the Rev. Dr. Abernathy said.

"These were attempts to embarrass the SCLC and the movement," the Rev. Dr. Abernathy stated. "I'm sure this and other revelations will come out of the Senate investigation."

He recalled the FBI's letter to the Rev. Dr. King, which he said conference officers interpreted as a suggestion that the Rev. Dr. King commit suicide.

"When the letter came, it was not signed by the FBI and we thought it was a letter from a demented individual associated with the Ku Klux Klan or the White Citizens Council," the Rev. Dr. Abernathy said. "But we were aware that we were being kept under constant surveillance by the FBI all along."

The disclosures of FBI campaigns against black leaders have rekindled a drive by some civil rights leaders and some members of Congress to get the Government to reopen the investigation into the assassination of the Rev. Dr. King.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, a King associate who now heads People United to Save Humanity, Chicago group, said that the disclosures were "just one more concrete revelation which reconfirms and gives credence to the fact that the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency were involved in the assassination of

King, Robert Kennedy, John F. Kennedy and Malcolm X."

The Rev. Mr. Jackson said this "is just one more reason why the public investigation of these assassinations should be reopened."

He said, however, that the FBI harassment had little impact on the Rev. Dr. King's work for social justice and peace.

"Given the series of revelations regarding the lawlessness and un-American activities surrounding Mr. Hoover, I call for the removal of his name from the building that was constructed in his honor," the Rev. Mr. Jackson said. "It is a symbol of disgrace and dishonor and does not represent the commitment to law that America says it stands for."

Hosea Williams, head of the Atlanta chapter of the leadership conference, said that if all FBI tactics were made public, it would "make Watergate look like an Easter egg hunt."

"I'd like to make it clear that this thing is much bigger than Martin Luther King Jr. or any other single black American," Williams said. "This thing represents an organized conspiracy to destroy black leadership in America in order to stop the thrust of blacks to become equal citizens in this country."

United States Representative Andrew Young, a Georgia Democrat who was executive vice president of the conference until 1970, said the disclosures showed that the FBI was misusing its resources.

"The tragedy is that instead of fighting organized crime, the FBI is trying to destroy black leadership," Young said. "It is seeking to destroy someone who operated within the framework of the courts, the Congress and under the Constitution."

and won in 1972.

Walter E. Fauntroy (Dem.), delegate to Congress from the District of Columbia, said he was fully aware of the revelations about the FBI before the disclosure by the Senate Intelligence Committee. Fauntroy is black and was closely associated with the Rev. Dr. King in civil rights activities.

"I hope the truth continues to come out so that we can find out how Dr. King's assassination came about," Fauntroy said. "There's no doubt in my mind that the assassination was a well-planned conspiracy, possibly involving Government officials."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Police disclaim knowing of alleged FBI letters

By WILLIAM POE
Globe-Democrat Staff Writer

The St. Louis Police Department's intelligence division neither knew of nor in any way helped the alleged FBI efforts to break up the marriages of two local black activist figures, according to the division's commander.

"How would we know anything about it?" Capt. Earl Halveland asked. He said the alleged activities, disclosed Tuesday by the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, were "Mickey Mouse."

Halveland, who heads the department's organized crime investigation wing, also expressed surprise at the disclosures.

"I don't believe that the director of the FBI is involved in the authorization of scurrilous letters to citizens—citizens with no relationship to national security problems," Halveland said.

LETTERS apparently were

sent by the FBI's St. Louis office in 1969 and 1970 to a member of the group ACTION and to a member of another organization called the Black Liberators.

The letters allegedly were intended to disrupt the organizations' area activities by disrupting the marriages of two of the members.

Halveland said that the letters could be considered "a strategy of counterintelligence."

He stressed that he could not condone such activities, but he added that the groups had been of concern to authorities.

"YOU'VE GOT to recognize that at the time these things were going on there were bombings and fires at government buildings and police stations," Halveland said.

ACTION and the now-defunct Black Liberators never posed a problem nationally, Halveland said, adding they were a concern only to local authorities.

He described the Black Liberators as a "bunch of hoods" who sported guns and attempted to sell protection to

merchants of the inner-city under threats of violence if the merchants refused.

If the merchants refused "protection" for their businesses at a particular price, the Liberators would later vandalize the businesses, Halveland said.

The Liberators also were responsible for a firebombing at the Lucas avenue district station and for firing shots into the station house in 1969, Halveland said.

THE GROUP, which Halveland said was headquartered in an area just west of downtown, is no longer active.

ACTION, a civil rights group headed by Percy Green, has operated for the last 10 years and is currently headquartered at 4154 North Newstead ave.

The group, Halveland said, is still being watched because of "their street disruptions and their interference with other people's property."

However, Halveland said, "this year they (ACTION) didn't even disrupt the Veiled Prophet parade as they have done perennially."

HARLAN C. Phillips, who became special agent in charge of the St. Louis FBI office in September of this year, said he was unaware of the alleged activities described during the Senate hearings.

During the period in which the letters were sent, records show special agents in charge of the St. Louis office were Joseph H. Gamble, August, 1968, to May, 1969, and J. Wallace LaPrade, May, 1969, to February, 1971.

LaPrade, who is now stationed with the FBI's New York bureau, declined to comment on the allegations because they are before a Senate committee.

Gamble, who was transferred to New York from St. Louis, is no longer with the FBI, the agency's New York office said. He could not be reached for comment.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

St. Louis Globe Democrat, Page 3A
—St. Louis, Missouri

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King campaign had no legal base, official told

By Associated Press

WASHINGTON—There was no legal justification for the 25 separate attempts by the bureau in the 1960s to discredit the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as a civil rights leader, a top FBI official said Wednesday.

James B. Adams, associate deputy FBI director, told the Senate Intelligence Committee there is "no statutory basis or justification" for the attempts which included sending Dr. King and his wife an anonymous letter which Dr. King took as a suggestion he commit suicide.

ADAMS SAID, however, that he believes the FBI was justified in investigating Dr. King because of the possibility that Communist influences were being brought to bear on him and on the civil rights movement.

He said he can find no basis for Dr. King's conclusion that the FBI-prepared letter and the tape recording that accompanied it suggested Dr. King kill himself. But he acknowledged under questioning that interpretation is "a possibility."

suspicion that he was being influenced by someone the bureau felt was subversive.

Committee Chairman Frank Church, D-Idaho, said that when the FBI's New York field office issued a memo saying the person was not thought to have Communist leanings, it was told emphatically by FBI headquarters in Washington that it was wrong.

A directive from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's office said the bureau did not agree with the finding that the investigation should be dropped. While there was no evidence that the person was not a Communist, "neither is there any evidence that he is anti-Communist," the directive said.

Adams testified that the bureau's controversial Cointelpro activities, which were halted in 1971, began with an effort to "neutralize the Communist Party in the United States."

HE SAID THE FBI never asked any attorney general or anyone else for authority for the programs which were later expanded to include so-called New Left, white hate, black revolutionary and other groups, includ-

"I certainly would say it was improper, and I can't justify its being prepared or sent," Adams said.

The letter read in part: "King, there is only one thing left for you to do. You know what it is . . . You are done. There is but one way out for you."

In addition to the letter, the committee on Tuesday made public evidence that the FBI installed 16 electronic bugs and eight wiretaps on Dr. King and promoted a candidate—still unidentified—to succeed him as a "national Negro leader."

Adams said the wiretaps were authorized by then Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

COMMITTEE STAFF members said the FBI had justified the bugs under what it considered to be its general investigative authority.

Staff members said Kennedy and his brother, President John F. Kennedy, told Dr. King at one point that continued FBI interest in his activities arose out of a fear or a

ing the women's liberation movement.

Sen. Philip A. Hart, D-Mich., called the programs aimed at halting or obstructing certain teachers, students, speakers or publications "a 20th Century version of what the founding fathers intended to prevent when they wrote the 1st Amendment."

Hart said he believes the bureau may have tried to stir up warfare between rival groups such as the Blackstone Rangers in Chicago and that city's chapter of the Black Panthers.

He said that on Jan. 30, 1969, FBI headquarters approved sending an anonymous letter to Jeff Forte, leader of the Blackstone Rangers street gang, telling him the Black Panthers had put a contract on his life.

"Wasn't the real purpose to encourage the Rangers to shoot some or all of the leadership of the Panthers?" Hart asked.

Adams contended that was not the purpose. He said none of the bureau's activities in this field ever led to violence or

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

DATE: 11/19/75

FROM : SPVR. JACK A. FRENCH

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT

On the afternoon of 11/17/75, SA GENE GLENN, Extension 4653, FBIHQ, telephonically advised the writer that Associate Director JIM ADAMS would be testifying before the Congressional Intelligence Committee on Wednesday, 11/19/75. One of the cases that ADAMS will be questioned about concerns the anonymous letter which the St. Louis Division sent to the husband of JANE R. SIMON.

GLENN was provided with the details of serials 72 and 75 of this file together with a characterization of ACTION.

1- St. Louis
JAF:jtc
(1) *jt*

HR

100-21213-119

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FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

[Signature]



Dr. King Harassment Unjust, FBI Concedes

By ROBERT ADAMS
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19 — A high official at the Federal Bureau of Investigation said today he could find no justification for a campaign waged by the FBI to discredit the late Dr. Martin Luther King.

The official, James Adams, assistant deputy director of the FBI, made the admission in testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee.

Adams conceded also that there was no legal basis for certain other activities undertaken by the FBI to disrupt so-called subversive or extremist groups under the agency's counterintelligence program, known as "Cointelpro."

Adams said, however, he believed that the FBI had acted in good faith in its attempts to counter what it perceived as a threat to the nation from such groups.

Adams said the FBI was no longer using techniques such as trying to break up marriages, which were described by committee investigators yesterday as a part of the FBI's Cointelpro operation.

On the campaign against the Rev. Dr. King, Adams was asked a series of

questions about the legality or propriety of various actions the FBI undertook.

Senator Frank Church (Dem.), Idaho, chairman of the committee, asked whether there was any legal basis for the FBI to try to stop a university from giving the Rev. Dr. King an honorary degree.

"I know of no basis," Adams said.

Adams gave the same answer when asked whether the FBI was justified in trying to prevent the Rev. Dr. King from meeting with Pope Paul VI.

Adams did not agree, however, that an anonymous letter to the civil rights leader saying he had "but one way out" was necessarily an invitation for the civil rights leader to commit suicide. Testimony yesterday indicated that the Rev. Dr. King had interpreted the letter that way.

"It's a possibility," Adams said, "but I certainly would not reach such a conclusion from my reading of it." Adams said that because a copy of the letter was found in FBI files, and because the Rev. Dr. King did receive it, he assumed that the FBI had sent the letter, although he said there was no specific evidence that the FBI had actually done so.

Adams did say the FBI believed it had reason to investigate the civil rights leader. But on the attempts to discredit him, Adams said: I know of no basis for that, and I will not attempt to justify it.

Adams said the surveillance of the Rev. Dr. King had been requested by the late Robert F. Kennedy when Kennedy was Attorney General.

Also today, Senator Richard Schweicker (Rep.), Pennsylvania, disclosed the fact that photographs of sexual activities were forwarded by the FBI to the White House in connection with a Johnson Administration request for information on critics of the Warren Commission report on the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Asked whether such information was being gathered to discredit the critics, Adams said he did not know what the White House motive had been.

Adams said, however, that President Gerald R. Ford has issued orders stipulating that any White House request to the FBI must be cleared with the

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Pl-11, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri

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FBI — SAINT LOUIS	

White House counsel. He said he believed that this procedure would prevent Presidents or others in the White House from bypassing normal channels and getting information directly from the FBI.

It was disclosed also that in 1968, the FBI made Antioch College in Yellow Springs, O., a target of its disruptive activities. The FBI was authorized by then-Director J. Edgar Hoover to disseminate information that would "expose the pseudo-intellectual image of Antioch." The aim of the effort was to "force Antioch to defend itself as an educational institution," according to FBI documents made public by the committee today.

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"Pretty soon, you'll have us all in the system," Church remarked.

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"How did we get to this point—this kind of incredible, insane suggestion, violating everybody's civil liberties, based on a Government-sponsored fraud?" Mondale demanded. "Why does anybody even consider something like this?"

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It was disclosed also that in 1971, FBI employees were instructed not to talk to representatives of the Washington Post, the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, CBS or NBC. The employees were told to give only "no comment" as an answer to inquiries from those organizations.

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"This is the ~~gangup~~ with the whole program," Adams conceded. "I'm not saying there was a statutory basis (for the disruptions)."

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Rather than try to stop the impending violence, however, the FBI spoke of exacerbating the tensions. "In order to fully capitalize upon" the situation, the document said, "as well as to exploit all avenues of creating further dissension in the ranks of the BPP (Black Panther Party), recipient officers (of the FBI) are instructed to submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP."

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"When it came to blacks, the most violent techniques were acceptable," Smothers said. "If they were going to have gang fights and were going to kill each other, it seemed to be a wonderful opportunity for the bureau to promote it."

Smothers said the FBI had also tried to exacerbate differences between the Black Panthers and the Blackstone Rangers in Chicago.

Schwarz said that there was no legal justification for many of the activities. The attorneys said they believed that the FBI had sometimes concealed their techniques from the Department of Justice.

Schwarz said that the FBI's attitude often had seemed to be that a target of surveillance was guilty until proved innocent. He cited the case of a New York

civil rights leader suspected of Communist sympathies.

When FBI agents could not find such evidence, their supervisors were not satisfied. The agents were told to keep investigating because there was nothing to prove that the man was anti-Communist, Schwarz said.

He said the nonviolent Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which the Rev. Dr. King headed, had been labeled as a violence-prone "black hate" group by the FBI.

At the Democratic National Convention in 1968, Schwarz said, the FBI used "disinformation" to harass demonstrators. The Chicago FBI office got 217 forms used by antiwar groups for housing demonstrators, and filled them out. The forms said that housing would be available at nonexistent addresses.

The demonstrators made "long and useless journeys" to find the nonexistent houses, Schwarz said. He said the Washington FBI office had done the same thing before the inauguration of former President Richard M. Nixon in 1969.

At one antiwar demonstration, Schwarz said, the FBI issued false commands to marshals over a citizens' band radio. In addition, it answered an advertisement by a man who said he wanted a pilot to fly over the city and drop flowers. The FBI strung the man along until he showed up with 200 pounds of flowers and found no pilot, Schwarz said.

The FBI began by trying to disrupt Communist and Klan groups, the attorneys said. They produced a letter to a klansman's wife charging her husband with adultery, and purportedly written by a woman Klan member. It was actually written by the FBI, they said.

In the 1960s, the FBI turned its sights toward black groups, antiwar groups and the New Left in general, they said.

Among the disclosures yesterday was that the FBI had infiltrated or spied on 15 groups at the Democratic National Convention in 1964 and had given reports to President Johnson.

An FBI document made public at the hearing said that NBC-TV news had given FBI agents press credentials so that they could pose as reporters. Using that ploy, the FBI said, "We were able to keep the White House fully apprised of all major developments during the convention's course."

The documents indicated also that John Doar, who was then in the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, had asked for FBI "name checks" on 40 persons in the leadership of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Doar was head counsel for the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment proceedings in 1974.

In a 1968 memorandum made public yesterday, Hoover spelled out in detail

the techniques to be used to harass and disrupt New Left groups.

The agents, the memo said, should prepare leaflets to counter the impression that Students for a Democratic Society and other groups spoke for most students. "Naturally, the most obnoxious pictures should be used" of the New Left leaders, the memo said.

The agents were also to instigate, or take advantage of, personal conflicts between New Left leaders. They were to send anonymous letters to the parents of students, to their parents' employers, to university officials, to university donors, and elsewhere depicting the New Left in the worst possible light.

Disruption of events was also to be used, Hoover said. "For example, when events are planned, notification that the event has been canceled or postponed could be sent to various individuals," he wrote. Hoover suggested producing the false impression that some New Left members were FBI informers.

"We have had a long recital of crimes that have in fact been undertaken by the FBI itself," Church said at the end of yesterday's hearing. "That's a very sad proposition."

Many Americans who were not even suspected of a crime, Church said, "were not only spied upon, but they were harassed, they were discredited, and at times endangered, by the covert operations of the FBI."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI sent 2 defaming letters to spouses of local activists

Letters apparently sent by the FBI's St. Louis office in 1969 and 1970 in attempts to break up the marriages of two local black activist figures were released by the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Tuesday.

The documents were among many released, outlining FBI activities going back before World War II to discredit groups and individuals ranging from the Communist Party, U.S.A., to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The two letters sent locally were to a member of the group ACTION and to a member of another organization called the Black Liberators. In neither case were the names of the persons involved kept in the documents.

THE 1970 LETTER was sent to the husband of a woman described in an FBI memo as a "local New Left figure who is an officer in ACTION" and a member of the St. Louis Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The memo termed ACTION as "a local black activist group whose members have engaged in numerous acts of civil disruption and disobedience."

The letter, with deliberate misspellings, stated:

"Dear Ms. ———"

"Look man, I guess your old lady doesn't get enough at home or she wouldn't be shucking and jiving with our Black Men in ACTION, you dig? Like all she wants to integrate is the bedroom, and us Black Sisters aint gonna take no second best from our men. So lay it on her man—or get her the hell off Newstead.

"A Soul Sister."

IN BOTH LETTERS words were misspelled in an apparent attempt to lend credibility to the documents.

The second letter, mailed in 1969 to the wife of a member of the Black Liberators, was submitted to the Senate committee accompanied by an FBI memo that read:

"The enclosed letter was prepared from a penmanship, spelling and vocabulary style to imitate the average Black Liberator."

The letter itself read:

"Sister

"The Black Liberators are trained to respect Black

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P3, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri

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Women and special are the wife and girls. Brother ----- keeps tellin the Brothers this, but he don't treet you that way. I only been in the organisation 2 months, but ----- been maken it here with ----- then he gives us this jive bout their better in bed then you are and how he keeps you off his back by senden you a little daugh ever now and then—

“He says he gotta send you money. The draft board gonna chuck him in the army somethen. This aint rite, and we’re sayen that is treeten you wrong—

“A Black Liberator.”

A REPORT TO FORMER FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover dated June 19, 1970, from the St. Louis FBI office said that the ACTION member and husband had “recently separated, following a series of marital arguments.”

“While the letter sent by the St. Louis division (of the FBI) was probably not the sole cause of the separation, it certainly contributed very strongly,” the memo, headed “Black Nationalist—hate groups,” said.

A similar memo dated Feb. 14, 1969, from the FBI’s St. Louis office, said that the man who was the apparent target of the second letter was then separated from his wife.

PERMISSION TO SEND the letter to the wife of the Black Liberator was gained from Hoover in a memo dated Feb. 28, 1969, but it was not indicated on the memo whether the letter was actually sent.

Hoover also approved a scheme by the local FBI office to disrupt the Black Liberators by making it known to them that the letter had been sent.

“The Black Liberators will waste a great deal of time trying to discover the writer of the letter,” a letter from the local FBI office to Hoover says. “It is possible that their not-too-subtle investigation will lose present members and alienate potential ones.”

W. Raymond Wannall, assistant director of the FBI’s intelligence division, and James Adams, FBI assistant deputy director, are expected to respond Wednesday to the testimony presented to the committee Tuesday.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Sought To Discredit St. Louisans

By ROBERT ADAMS
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18 — The St. Louis office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation tried to break up the marriages of two St. Louis civil rights figures by mailing false, anonymous letters in 1969 and 1970, it was disclosed today.

The disclosures were contained in documents made public today by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. The documents outlined a wide-ranging attempt by the FBI to spy on and disrupt organizations that the FBI apparently considered subversive or undesirable across the country.

The documents of the St. Louis cases did not name the two civil rights leaders. One was a leader of the group ACTION, and another was a member of the Black Liberators. The move against the officer in ACTION was made in 1970, according to the documents.

A confidential memorandum from the St. Louis FBI office to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover indicated that an officer in ACTION, who was also a leader in the St. Louis Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, was believed to have a suspicious husband. The husband purportedly was convinced that his wife was going out with men in the ACTION group.

The FBI then mailed an anonymous, hand-written letter to the woman's husband, signed "A Soul Sister". The letter indicated that the woman had, indeed, been unfaithful — even though there apparently was no evidence.

In a report to Hoover dated June 19, 1970, under the heading "Black Nationalist-hate groups," the St. Louis FBI office told of the apparent results. Hoover was advised that the woman and her husband had "recently separated, following a series of marital arguments." The memo to Hoover said the matrimonial strain should cause the woman "to function much less effectively in action."

"While the letter sent by the St. Louis division (of the FBI) was probably not the sole cause of the separation, it certainly contributed very strongly," the memo said.

A similar tactic was used against a former member of the St. Louis Black

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Liberators in 1969, according to the documents.

A memo dated Feb. 14, 1969, from the St. Louis FBI office to Hoover indicated that the unnamed target had been alienated from his wife and was then separated from her.

The bureau proposed sending, and was authorized to send, an anonymous letter to the man's wife indicating that the man was being unfaithful to her. A

copy of the hand-written letter was included among the documents. There was no indication as to whether the letter was sent, although permission was granted by Hoover in a memo dated Feb. 28, 1969.

The St. Louis FBI office also planned to make other Black Liberators aware that the letter was sent, in an effort to stir discord in the group. That, too, was approved by Hoover.

Under "anticipated results," the St. Louis office cited ill-feeling "and possibly a lasting distrust" between the man and his wife.

"The Black liberators will waste a great deal of time trying to discover the writer of the letter," the FBI office wrote to Hoover. "It is possible that their not-too-subtle investigation will lose present members and alienate potential ones."

"Inasmuch as Black Liberator strength is ebbing at its lowest level, this action may well be the death blow," the memo continued.

The documents made public by the Senate committee had the names of the FBI's targets deleted, except in cases where the individual had given permission, or in cases where the person's identity was already public.

Today's disclosures included testimony by F. A. O. Schwarz III, a counsel to the Senate panel, that a large number of confidential files kept by Hoover had

been destroyed.

Schwarz told the panel that Hoover apparently kept two types of sensitive files: "An official and confidential" file, and a "personal file."

Schwarz said that before Hoover died, he apparently went through the files under the letters A through C in the "personal files" and transferred certain documents to the "official and confidential" files.

It was discovered later that all the "personal files" had been destroyed — either before or after Hoover's death, Schwarz testified.

Schwarz said the FBI also gathered information about the women's liberation movement. After one FBI report indicating simply that women's lib advocates believed that they were leading a hum-drum existence, higher FBI officials told them to continue investigating.

Schwarz told of the civil rights leader in New York who apparently was suspected of having Communist leanings. Agents in the field reported that they could find no evidence of that. They were told to continue investigating, Schwarz said, because they had found no evidence that the man was not a Communist. Schwarz said this indicated that in the eyes of the FBI, a target of a bureau was apparently considered guilty unless proved innocent.

Another case described by Schwarz was that of a religious group that the

FBI kept under surveillance for 20 years "hoping and hoping" to find evidence that the group was dangerous. No evidence came up, but FBI agents were told to keep on investigating.

Schwarz said the FBI used covert techniques to break up the marriages, ruin the jobs, disrupt, discredit and destroy individuals it believed to be subversive or extremist.

In a related development on the FBI, a leader of the Socialist Workers' Party told the House Intelligence Committee today that the agency was continuing to harass members of his organization because of their political beliefs.

Peter Camejo, who is running for President as a Socialist Workers candidate, charged in testimony prepared for a hearing this morning that the FBI had kept up a campaign of disruption against his party long after April 1971, when the FBI said it had ended disruptive activities against leftist groups.

Camejo gave the committee a list of more than 200 incidents that he said represented harassment by the FBI or other federal agencies since April 1971. The list included the names of 32 persons purportedly discharged from, or found unfit for, the military service because they belonged to or supported the group.

In addition, the list included one person said to have been dismissed from a job in the Federal Government—and eight others who were called in by the

Civil Service Commission and asked to explain their affiliations with the organization.

The Socialist Workers Party is a Trotskyite organization. Its youth affiliate is the Young Socialist Alliance. Together, the groups have filed a \$27,000,000 damage suit against the FBI.

The new list given to the House panel, headed by Representative Otis G. Pike (Dem.), New York, cites numerous other incidents of purported FBI harassment. One of the incidents occurred as recently as last month.

Camejo said the Socialists Workers were a legal political party. He said the party did not advocate violence, terrorism or illegal activity, and that the FBI had never produced evidence to the contrary.

In spite of that, he said, the FBI has "burglarized us, 'investigated' us, bugged our offices, 'covered' our mail, visited our members, gotten them fired from jobs, harassed our election campaigns and generally made efforts to prevent us from getting a hearing for our views."

The list charged that the Civil Service Commission had kept a detailed dossier on one woman's political activities when she was a federal employe, and at one point had produced a copy of her letter of resignation from the Detroit Socialist Workers Party. The document charged that the only copy of the letter had been

stolen, under conditions ~~suggesting~~ a burglary performed by the FBI.

It said that in St. Louis in 1973, FBI agents had visited a woman's employer, who had then told her fellow workers to avoid her. She was soon dismissed, the document said.

An FBI spokesman said the agency had no comment because the matter was the subject of a lawsuit. An official of the Civil Service Commission acknowledged keeping "security files" numbering into the millions on federal employes. He denied, however, that the files had been used for improper purposes.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI accused of massive U.S. spying

WASHINGTON (AP) — For the last 50 years, the FBI has conducted "massive surveillance of law-abiding American citizens," investigators for the Senate intelligence committee said Monday.

The surveillance was carried out under a variety of FBI programs directed at domestic intelligence targets and lasted into the 1970s, according to the investigators.

MANY OF these programs have been exposed previously, but the investigators said committee hearings scheduled for Tuesday and Wednesday would mark "the first time that the full scope of the 50-year history of the FBI's domestic intelligence will be laid out in a public hearing."

The hearings will focus on the FBI's use of break-ins and electronic eavesdropping, as well as on counterintelligence tactics used to disrupt the operations of certain domestic organizations.

"IN THE PAST year or two FBI officials have attempted to reevaluate" their domestic intelligence activities, with the result that there is "a substantial difference between what is done today and what was done three or four years ago," an investigator said at a background briefing for reporters.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Letter From FBI Reported To Seek Dr. King's Suicide

By ROBERT ADAMS
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18 — The Federal Bureau of Investigation sent the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. an anonymous letter in 1964 that could be interpreted as trying to cause him to commit suicide, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence was told today.

The letter, which told the late civil rights leader that "there is but one way out for you," was sent to the Rev. Dr. King 34 days before he was to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in Norway in December 1964.

The letter was described to the committee by two of its attorneys, E. A. Tamm, Schwarz III and Curtis Smothers, as part of a broad attempt to discredit and destroy Dr. King as a national civil rights leader.

Schwarz and Smothers said the efforts included the placing of 16 separate electronic bugs and eight wire taps on the Rev. Dr. King. Smothers told reporters afterward that at least two of the wire taps were approved by the late Robert F. Kennedy when he was Attorney General.

The FBI's efforts included an attempt to select another civil rights leader to replace Dr. King as the country's foremost civil rights spokesman, the committee was told.

The anonymous 1964 letter to Dr. King said, in part:

"King, there's only one thing left for you to do. You know what it is.

"You have just 34 days in which to do this (this exact number has been selected for a specific reason). It has definite practical significance. You are done. There is but one way out for you."

As a part of the letter was read into the record, Senator Walter F. Mondale (Dem.), Minnesota asked, "That was taken by Dr. King to be a suggestion for suicide, was it not?"

"That is our understanding," Schwarz replied.

After the hearing, Harry Wachtel, an attorney for the King estate, told reporters that other materials were sent along with the letter. He would not elaborate. But he said the material "was intended to be distressing."

Wachtel noted that the letter had

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reached the Rev. Dr. King in late 1964, about 34 days before he was to travel to Norway to accept the Nobel Prize.

Smothers said the committee was not making public the rest of the material for reasons of privacy. But he said, with regard to the FBI letter, "I think one could regard it as a blackmail letter."

He said the FBI apparently believed it was in a position to discredit the Rev. Dr. King and that Dr. King might have been presumed to think that he could avoid being publicly discredited only by "removing himself from the scene."

Smothers said that by January 1962, J. Edgar Hoover, then director of the FBI, had described the Rev. Dr. King as "no good."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

St. Louisan Wants FBI Curbed

By MARTHA SHIRK
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

A civil rights worker in St. Louis whom the Federal Bureau of Investigation tried to discredit in an anonymous letter to her husband in 1970 has called for legislation to "end the FBI's harassment of political groups."

The woman, who is white, is a former officeholder in the civil rights group ACTION and in the St. Louis Chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She agreed to a telephone interview last night on the condition that her name be withheld.

Documents made public yesterday by the United States Senate Select Committee on Intelligence include a copy of a handwritten letter sent to the woman's husband in the spring of 1970 implying that she had been having sexual relations with black members of ACTION.

A memorandum from the St. Louis FBI office to then-FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover said the letter had been sent to cause matrimonial strain, which the bureau hoped would make the woman "function much less effectively in ACTION."

The woman says it did.

She was divorced from her husband within a year and forced to curtail her political activities and seek full-time work.

And another memo to Hoover from St. Louis said, "While the letter sent by the St. Louis division was probably not the sole cause of the separation, it certainly contributed very strongly."

The woman, since remarried, said, "I don't think there's any marriage that wouldn't be shaken by accusations like that. Even a good marriage would have problems. And in a marriage already having difficulties, that letter could cause real strain."

The letter, which was littered with grammatical and punctuation errors, stated:

"Look man I guess your old lady doesn't get enough at home or she wouldn't be shucking and jiving with our Black Men in ACTION, you dig? Like all she wants to integrate is the bed room and us Black Sisters ain't gonna take no second best from our men. So lay it on her, man—or get her the hell off Newstead." It was signed, "A Soul Sister."

The Newstead reference is to ACTION'S headquarters, 4154 North Newstead Avenue.

The woman, who is in her late 30s, has three children and two stepchildren.

She said she was disturbed greatly by

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what she called the racism implicit in the style used by FBI in writing the letter and by its attempt to discredit black women by depicting them as jealous of white women.

"This is an old trick, using sexual issues to destroy good working relationships between blacks and whites," she said. "I would hope that people would read it and say, 'Oh, my God, is that what's coming out of our public agencies?'"

The woman saw the note about a month ago when a staff member of the Senate Select Committee notified her that it would be introduced yesterday. The committee is studying allegations of illegal activities by the FBI.

The woman's first husband had informed her when he received the anonymous note, she said, but she had not then read the contents. "I was quite simply shocked when I actually saw it," she said.

"It's a very frightening thing to find out that one has no freedom to picket for

port self-determination for Vietnam without jeopardizing one's marriage," she said. "And that's all I really did."

"What I am most shocked about, I guess, is that a freedom I thought I had — the right to protest peacefully — didn't really exist. It is incredible that a Government agency would be so unfeeling as to try to destroy someone's personal life to keep them from acting politically."

The woman hopes that publicity about such activities by the FBI will "serve to vindicate those people who have been falsely accused."

"I would like to see some legislation coming out of this that would prevent this from happening to somebody else — or to me again," she said.

Another anonymous letter written by St. Louis FBI agents in 1969 involved an unidentified black man involved in the Black Liberators, a local civil rights group that no longer exists.

A memo dated Feb. 14, 1969, from the St. Louis FBI office to Hoover indicated that the target was separated from his wife. Permission was granted by Hoover on Feb. 28, 1969, to send the man's wife a letter hinting that her husband had been unfaithful.

Frank Washington of Wellston, who was involved in the organization, said last night that such a letter had been received by the wife of one of the group's members. Washington refused to divulge the man's name.

The letter stated: "Us Black Liberators are trained to respect Black Women and special are wives and girls. Brother (name deleted) keeps tellin the Brothers this but he dont treet you that way. I only been in the organisation 2 months, but (named deleted) been maken it here with Sister Marva and Sister Tony and than he gives us this jive bout their better in bed then you are and how he keeps you off his back by senden you a little dough ever now an then."

"He says he gotta send you money (unintelligible.) The draft board gonna chuck him in the army or somethen. This aint rite, and were sayen that (name deleted) is treeten you wrong." It was signed, "A Black Liberator."

An FBI memo presented to the committee said the letter "was prepared from a penmanship, spelling and vocabulary style to imitate the average Black Liberator."

Percy Green, the chairman of ACTION, said last night that the group had suspected the FBI of meddling in its affairs since action was founded 10 years ago.

"And we have no reason to believe that they have ceased," Green said. "For them to admit to two instances of dirty tricks means that there are a lot more cases involved. These are probably the cleanest ones."

Harlan Phillips, special agent in charge of the FBI here, said yesterday that he was unfamiliar with the activities described during the Senate hearings.

"To my knowledge, there is nothing of that sort going on now, and I am sure, with the checks we have, that I would know if it were," Phillips said.

J. Wallace LaPrade, an assistant director of the bureau now serving in the New York office, was in charge of the St. Louis operations during most of 1969 and all of 1970. He refused to comment today.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Harassed Koen, Files Show

By ROBERT ADAMS
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3 — The Federal Bureau of Investigation waged a covert campaign to harass and discredit the Rev. Charles Koen, former head of the St. Louis Black Liberators and now the leader of the United Front in Cairo, Ill., new FBI documents showed today.

The documents, made public by the Senate Intelligence Committee, show that the efforts against the Rev. Mr. Koen included writing a poison-pen letter to his wife; trying to drive a wedge between him and his second in command in the Liberators; trying to create ill feeling between the Rev. Mr. Koen and activist white students, and distributing a cartoon depicting the Rev. Mr. Koen with money coming out of his pockets.

The Post-Dispatch asked the Senate panel to make public the Koen documents after the Cairo minister had said that a committee staff member had shown him copies and told him that he had been the object of FBI harassment from at least 1968 to 1971. The Rev. Mr. Koen gave the panel permission, and the papers were made public today.

The documents confirmed the Rev. Mr. Koen's statements last weekend that he had been the victim of FBI schemes to defame him or weaken his influence. A committee source confirmed also a charge by the Rev. Mr. Koen that the FBI had received permission from its headquarters to send an anonymous letter attacking him to an Episcopal bishop in an attempt to dry up funds for the United Front.

That letter, however, is still considered classified by the FBI and has not been made public.

Reached by telephone in Cairo, the Rev. Mr. Koen said that he had sent a mailgram to FBI Director Clarence Kelley asking for a meeting, but had not received a reply. The Rev. Mr. Koen said that he was considering whether to take other action to pursue the matter.

One avenue open to the Rev. Mr. Koen and to other targets of harassment programs would be to sue the FBI for damages. Another would be to ask for

further material from FBI files under the Freedom of Information Act.

One of the documents made public today was a memorandum from the special agent in charge of the St. Louis FBI office to the late J. Edgar Hoover, who was then director. Dated Feb. 26, 1969. The memo noted that the St. Louis office had earlier "requested permission to send an anonymous letter to the wife of Charles Enlow Koen, former head of the Black Liberators, accusing him of infidelity." It said that the action "will cause considerable concern to Koen and the Black Liberators."

The Rev. Mr. Koen said that his wife did receive such an anonymous letter, a copy of which was made public last Nov. 18 with the names deleted. He said that it upset him and his wife but that it did not break up their marriage.

The new documents show also that FBI headquarters approved a scheme by which the Baltimore FBI office anonymously mailed a letter about the

Rev. Mr. Koen to another Liberator. The Rev. Mr. Koen identified the recipient as Leon Dent, who succeeded him as prime minister of the Liberators in 1969.

The letter was mailed in early 1969. It strongly implied that the Rev. Mr. Koen was an informer for the FBI or the Central Intelligence Agency. The St. Louis FBI office proposed it "in order to widen the rift" between the Rev. Mr. Koen and Dent and "prevent any reconciliation," according to an FBI memo dated Feb. 26, 1969.

The Rev. Mr. Koen told the Post-Dispatch that Dent did mention the letter to him. The Rev. Mr. Koen said he believed that it might have helped cause friction between the two men.

Dent succeeded the Rev. Mr. Koen as head of the Liberators on Jan. 31, 1969. Later sent to prison for assault, Dent was found hanged in his cell at the Missouri Penitentiary in Jefferson City last April 2.

In the Feb. 26, 1969 memo, the St. Louis FBI office boasted that "past and current" efforts aimed at "the destruction of the close ties" between the Rev. Mr. Koen and Dent "have met with success."

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A Jan. 30, 1969 memo from "Director, FBI" to the Baltimore office gave the go-ahead for the anonymous letter about the Rev. Mr. Koen's alleged relationship with the FBI. It said that the letter would help "drive a wedge" between the Rev. Mr. Koen and Dent. "This is a counterintelligence goal because (Dent) has far less leadership ability than Koen," it said.

The Rev. Mr. Koen said he had never spied for the FBI or any other law enforcement agency at any time.

Another effort against the Rev. Mr. Koen involved his lecture series at Washington University in 1968. Dent took part in some of the lectures. The St. Louis FBI office asked for, and received, permission to send the Rev. Mr. Koen a letter criticizing Dent's speaking ability. The letter was to be sent anonymously — ostensibly from a leftist student.

"We feel this could be effective as it might cause hard feelings between SDS (Students For a Democratic Society) and the black militants," an FBI memo dated Nov. 15, 1968 said.

The Rev. Mr. Koen said that he did receive the letter, but did not take any action. He said he believed that the lectures were being monitored by St. Louis police undercover agents, "but I never imagined the FBI was so deeply involved in this."

Perhaps the most bizarre plan was one proposed by the Springfield, Ill., FBI office in early 1971. It involved making a cartoon of the Rev. Mr. Koen and sending it to black leaders and others in Cairo.

"Springfield office has recommended preparation of a poster depicting Koen dressed in his typical expensive modish clothes," the memo said. "Slogans on the poster would emphasize the cost of Koen's attire and inquire as to the source of his funds. Springfield has furnished photographs of Koen in his modish attire which would be used as the basis for the caricature."

"It is felt that any diminution of

Koen's support in Cairo would be beneficial since he appears to be the single most important cause of confrontations occurring in Cairo," the memo asserted.

On March 22, 1971, a memo from "Director, FBI" went to the special agent in charge in Springfield. It said that 50 copies of the Koen caricature were enclosed.

The cartoons were to be distributed anonymously to three kinds of people, the memo said: "Those who supported Rev. Koen but were having doubts about him; persons who had given financial or other help to Rev. Koen or the United Front; and 'selected black leaders.'"

A copy of the cartoon was included in the material made public by the Senate panel today. It shows a militant-looking Koen wearing dark glasses, raising a clenched fist in the air and stuffing dollar bills into a pants pocket with his other hand. The clothing is stylish and expensive-looking.

Behind the Koen figure are two shabbily dressed blacks pushing racks of clothes and suitcases for Koen. A large caption at the top reads: "Koen's welfare." Beneath that is the question,

"Who pays???" Under the picture is the caption: "How can he do it?"

James Healy, assistant special agent in charge of the Springfield, Ill., office of the FBI, when asked today about the Koen matter said: "I am aware of some comments in Washington. I must refer you to the Washington headquarters of the FBI because people there are familiar with the facts as they do exist."

Sources in the Springfield office said that the special agent in charge there in 1971, was Thomas H. Farrow, who retired this year while serving in the Baltimore office.

One memo from the St. Louis FBI office to Hoover involved ACTION, another St. Louis civil rights group. The memo said ACTION was publishing a newspaper every two weeks that promoted racial hatred. "This division is considering the best way to blunt the effectiveness of the newspaper and the activities of ACTION," the memo said.

Other documents made public last Nov. 18 disclosed that the FBI sent an anonymous poison-pen letter to the husband of a woman officer of ACTION in 1970, accusing her of being unfaithful.

Levi Checking On FBI King Attacks

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3 (UPI) — Attorney General Edward H. Levi today said he had ordered two of his top assistants to review the Federal Bureau of Investigation's harassment of the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King.

Levi announced last week he was ordering a review of the FBI investigation of Dr. King's assassination to determine whether it should be reopened, but he did not mention a separate examination of the harassment

itself.

The late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was said to have ordered the harassment campaign because he believed Dr. King acted under Communist influences and was "dangerous."

Levi told reporters he had asked Assistant Attorneys General Richard L. Thornburg, head of the Criminal Division, and J. Stanley Pottinger, head of the Civil Rights Division, to review all of the FBI's activities concerning Dr. King.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

How Not To Uphold Rights

Clarence M. Kelley as FBI director is far different from the late J. Edgar Hoover. Mr. Kelley has made it plain that he thinks some of the FBI's actions under Mr. Hoover were morally indefensible. Nevertheless, Mr. Kelley in a speech at St. Louis University offered the same underlying excuse that Mr. Hoover used for a law enforcement agency going beyond the law. Coming from Mr. Kelley, the excuse seems even more chilling:

"We might as well acknowledge it," said the FBI chief here, "occasional and tightly controlled abrogation of rights is unavoidable if the national security is to be protected."

Under the late Mr. Hoover the abrogations of rights by the Federal Bureau of Investigation were neither occasional nor tightly controlled, unless controlled by Mr. Hoover personally. They were, however, all done in the name of national security.

That was the excuse for the anonymous poison-pen attacks fomented by the FBI against the late Dr. Martin Luther King and other civil rights leaders. It was the excuse for FBI efforts to disrupt the Socialist Workers Party, a legal party. It was the excuse for Mr. Hoover's Cointelpro program which went far beyond mere counterintelligence in its effort to smash groups that Mr. Hoover suspected might endanger the national security. Indeed, national security was the litany that brought the FBI into political police work.

Not everything the FBI did in this line was created by the fertile imagination of J. Edgar Hoover. As a Senate committee staff report shows, for almost half a century every President used the FBI for some sort of political surveillance. By using Mr. Hoover as their instrument, the presidents consecutively increased his power so that he could exploit it for vendettas of his own. For national security.

The wiretapping, the bugging, the political espionage and disruption, the anonymous letters aimed at breaking marriages — these

activities violated all the rights of privacy incorporated in Articles I, IV and V of the Constitution. Freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press, of the people to be secure against unreasonable searches and to have due process of law, were indeed abrogated.

No doubt Mr. Kelley does not condone such activities, but when he does condone abrogation of rights when "occasional and tightly controlled" it must be asked, how occasional or frequent, and controlled how and by whom? If liberties are guaranteed in the basic law of the land, how can anyone, much less an agency supposedly dedicated to upholding the law, "control" their abrogation?

At another point in his talk Mr. Kelley said it was the job of Congress to provide precise rules to govern the behavior of the FBI. He cannot mean to suggest that the FBI disregarded proper rules because Congress did not provide them. After all, the rules are already there, in the Constitution. It is no wonder that their repeated violations have brought the FBI to its lowest point of public esteem as demonstrated in a new Gallup Poll.

What Congress should do about the FBI is clear enough: it should restrict the terms of directors so that none ever again achieves the pinnacle of unaccountable authority held by Mr. Hoover, and it should establish a joint committee to oversee all intelligence activities in a way that Congress utterly failed to oversee the FBI or the Central Intelligence Agency or other agencies in the past.

But in the end the FBI's own conduct will have much to do with its public credibility and consequent effectiveness. It is not the congressional investigations and disclosures which have demeaned the FBI but its own activities. And the FBI cannot regain esteem by contending that the way to uphold the legal rights of Americans is occasionally to abrogate them, or that the way to make the nation more secure is to make its liberties less so.

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FBI - ST. LOUIS	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Koen Presses For Inquiry On FBI

By ROBERT J. KELLY
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

The Rev. Charles E. Koen, executive director of the United Front of Cairo, Ill., has asked the 17 members of the Congressional Black Caucus to continue an investigation into the Federal Bureau of Investigation's harassment of himself and other civil rights leaders.

Documents made public this week by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence disclosed that the FBI had directed a campaign to discredit the Rev. Mr.

Koen, who formerly was head of the Black Liberators in St. Louis.

The documents show that the FBI sent a letter to the Rev. Mr. Koen's wife accusing her husband of infidelity, wrote another letter designed to cause friction between the Rev. Mr. Koen and Leon Dent, who was the second in command in the Black Liberators, and distributed 50 copies of a caricature of the Rev. Mr. Koen that implied that he was a paid informer.

"But that's just the tip of the iceberg," the Rev. Mr. Koen alleged

Friday at a press conference in the offices of the United Front of East St. Louis.

He said that because the Senate committee had turned its attention to activities of the Central Intelligence Agency, members of Congress should continue investigation the FBI.

The Rev. Mr. Koen has requested also a meeting with FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley to seek assurance that harassment of civil rights leaders has stopped. The Rev. Mr. Koen said an FBI public information officer had told him that Kelley would get in touch with him later about the meeting.

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FBI - ST. LOUIS	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Won't Reply On Harassment

By ROBERT ADAMS
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Dec. 6—The Federal Bureau of Investigation will not make its agents available to answer reporters' questions about its harassment of St. Louis civil rights figures at least until FBI testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee is completed and perhaps not even then, an FBI spokesman said Saturday.

The spokesman said the Senate select committee had not asked the FBI to refrain from discussing its controversial "Cointelpro" operation, which was aimed at harassing and disrupting groups the FBI considered dangerous or subversive. But he said the FBI wanted to channel its responses through the committee while the panel was still calling FBI witnesses.

"I don't think they would try to interpose any objection," the spokesman said, "but we decided that as long as they were calling our people before the committee, it wouldn't be proper to make our people available to the media."

FBI officials in St. Louis have refused to discuss the matter and have referred calls to FBI headquarters. J. Wallace LaPrade, who was special agent in charge of the St. Louis office in 1969 and 1970 when some of the harassment occurred, has refused to comment on the ground that the matter was before the Senate committee. LaPrade is now in charge of the New York FBI office.

Documents made public by the Senate panel show that between 1968 and 1971, the St. Louis and Springfield, Ill.,

FBI offices—with the approval of FBI headquarters—sent letters to the families of two local civil rights figures in an attempt to disrupt their marriages.

One target of the harassment was the Rev. Charles E. Koen, the leader of the United Front in Cairo, Ill. He had been the head of the Black Liberators in St. Louis.

The documents show that the FBI sent an anonymous letter to the Rev. Mr. Koen's wife saying he had been unfaithful. The agency devised also a scheme to reduce financial support for the Rev. Mr. Koen; sent a letter to a Black Liberator implying that the Rev. Mr. Koen was an FBI informer in an attempt to sow discord in the group; and made up 50 cartoons of the Rev. Mr. Koen, depicting him with money coming out of his pockets.

The FBI also sent an anonymous letter to the husband of a woman member of the St. Louis civil rights group ACTION. The letter said the woman was sleeping with black men in the organization. The woman said the letter might have contributed to the breakup of her marriage.

The FBI spokesman noted that Clarence M. Kelley, director of the FBI, is scheduled to appear before the Senate panel next Tuesday and Wednesday. He is the last witness from the FBI now scheduled by the committee.

The FBI spokesman said that if Kelley's appearance marks the end of FBI testimony, calls from reporters wanting to interview FBI agents or officials would be decided on an individual basis.

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FBI - ST. LOUIS	

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 3-1-73)

Date 12/8/75

To: ☐ Director

Att.: _____ FILE _____

_____ Title _____

☐ SAC _____

☐ ASAC _____

☐ Supv. _____

☒ Agent RON YOUNG /

☐ SE TONY LEONE (NYO)

☐ SC _____

☐ CC _____

☐ Steno _____

☐ Clerk _____

RE: Phone call between SA
JAMES T. HAGGERTY, SL,
& SA RON YOUNG, NY, on
12/5/75

☐ Rotor #: _____

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline _____

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☐ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Serial # _____

☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return

☐ Send to _____

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by _____

☐ Type

Enclosed are copies of the following serials
re St. Louis Post Dispatch newspaper articles:

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122

128

117

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129

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SAC

HARLAN C. PHILLIPS

ST. LOUIS

See reverse side

Office

GPO : 1973 526-720

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FBI-ST. LOUIS	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Justice Dept. Admits It Gagged Former FBI Top Official

By ROBERT ADAMS
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10 — The Department of Justice admitted today that it had told William C. Sullivan, a former top official of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, not to have further conversations with representatives of a socialist group that is suing the FBI.

A department spokesman cited a federal regulation that he said prevented both present and former FBI employees from divulging FBI information without the approval of the Attorney General.

"Is he gagged? Yes, he's gagged," the spokesman said. He said the department did not believe Sullivan should be discussing court cases involving the FBI outside official channels.

The issue was raised by Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund. The fund was formed to support a \$27,000,000 damage suit against the FBI by the Socialist Workers' Party and its youth affiliate, the Young Socialist Alliance. The groups, which are Trotskyite organizations, say the FBI unlawfully harassed their members as part of the FBI's counterintelligence program, known as "Cointelpro."

In an affidavit filed in a United States District Court in New York, Stapleton said that he and an attorney for the socialists had interviewed Sullivan last October at Sullivan's home in New Hampshire. But Stapleton said that when he sought another interview later, Sullivan told him that the Justice Department had said no. Sullivan also said that the department had threatened to cut off its legal representation of Sullivan in civil suits if he talked to Stapleton again.

Stapleton quoted Sullivan as saying that although the department is not representing him in the socialists' case, it is providing him with representation in some other cases free of charge.

In a statement made public with the affidavit, Stapleton called the department's action an attack on Sullivan's freedom of speech and on the public's right to know.

"This outrageous attempt to stifle the voice of William C. Sullivan can only help

cover up the crimes of the FBI," Stapleton said. "At a time when the American people want more facts about the FBI's political operations, the Justice Department is trying to gag one of the few people who have both the knowledge and willingness to shed some light on Cointelpro, the ha-

arrassment of Martin Luther King Jr., and related FBI efforts to suppress dissent."

The Justice Department spokesman said the department believed that Sullivan's conversations with the socialists' representatives could violate the regulations that prevent former FBI officials

from talking about FBI matters without permission.

"The ultimate action that the Attorney General could take is withdrawing representation of Mr. Sullivan in civil cases if we don't feel this (representing him) is in the best interest of the department," the spokesman said.

He said this had been conveyed to Sullivan through his attorney, Joseph E. Casey.

There appeared to be some confusion over whether the department had actually threatened to cut off Sullivan's legal help, however. Edward Christenbury, the department's attorney on the

Sullivan suits, said no such threat was made.

Casey also said the department had not threatened a cutoff. He said the department had tried to withdraw its representation more than a year ago, when the Justice Department informed Sullivan that the Watergate spe-

cial prosecutor's office was investigating Sullivan for possible obstruction of justice. The investigation involved Sullivan's temporary custody of records on 17 wire taps conducted during the Nixon Administration on the ground they were vital to national security.

Casey said, however, that a federal judge ordered the department to continue representing Sullivan. Last September, Sullivan received a letter clearing him from the special prosecutor's office, Casey said.

Sullivan held several high-ranking posts with the FBI and ultimately was put in charge of investigations for the agency. He left in 1971 in a dispute with the late J. Edgar Hoover, who was then FBI director.

The dispute over Sullivan is part of a continuing controversy over the FBI's program to harass and disrupt groups it considered subversive or extremist. Clarence M. Kelley, the present FBI director, is to testify today before the Senate Intelligence Committee on the program.

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FBI - SAINT LOUIS

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Just Bureau 12/17

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Agent Here Defends Tactics Of Bureau

By TED GEST
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

The Federal Bureau of Investigation used "counter-intelligence tactics of disruption . . . to prevent actual violence and bloodshed," Harlan C. Phillips, special agent in charge of the St. Louis FBI office, said today.

In his first major statement here on the subject, Phillips said that all counterintelligence activities that have aroused criticism recently were undertaken in part because "in public and in private, influential citizens and government officials demanded action" against terrorism.

Phillips said, "Well, the FBI took action; and though the actions we took were much more temperate than many urged, we have since been castigated for taking them."

In remarks prepared for delivery to the Downtown Rotary Club, Phillips also criticized the Post-Dispatch for a "scurrilous and irresponsible editorial cartoon" about the FBI and for "reporting (about the FBI that) I take issue with."

The FBI has been assailed by targets of the agency's harassment of St. Louis civil rights figures during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Documents made public in recent congressional hearings show that the St. Louis and Springfield, Ill., offices of the FBI sent letters to the families of two civil rights figures here in an attempt to disrupt their marriages.

FBI officials in both Washington and St. Louis have refused to discuss details of the incidents, which involved the Rev. Charles E. Koen, the leader of the United Front in Cairo, Ill., and the husband of a woman member of the civil rights group ACTION.

Phillips did not discuss those incidents today but instead gave a general defense

of the FBI's efforts in the intelligence field.

The FBI agent said that a recent news report that 676 FBI domestic intelligence operations last year resulted in only four convictions "indicates a callous lack of understanding of what our domestic security work is all about.

"Our accomplishments in the field lie primarily in the terrorist bomber who is thwarted, the arsonist who is deterred, the potential assassin who is frustrated."

Referring to allegations that the FBI has violated citizens' rights by making

surreptitious entries into buildings without warrants, Phillips said such activities were proper under some circumstances.

If an intelligence agent's target "is free to operate outside the range of normal conduct . . . the counter-intelligence agent must act in kind or be placed at a tremendous disadvantage," Phillips said.

"We could not decree . . . that surreptitious entries are always wrong; instead, we should decide under what circumstances it is correct to employ such methods," Phillips said.

Phillips said that "there have been assaults on the rights and the tranquility of the people, but not by the FBI."

The Post-Dispatch was not cited by name in Phillips's speech, but he criticized several articles that have appeared in the newspaper.

One was a Gallup Poll story that bore the headline, "Public Esteem of FBI Plunges" but included the fact that 80 per cent of persons polled still have a favorable image of the FBI, he said. "Certainly the details of the article do not support the headline," he said.

Phillips cited a Post-Dispatch cartoon that he said aquated the FBI with the Gestapo as a "direct insult to the thousands of dedicated FBI men and women."

Phillips attributed the counterintelligence activities to a reaction to "widespread violence and dissension in the 60s. It was a bitter taste . . . emotions ran rampant over reason and order."

He said, "You can be certain that the FBI has no desire to oppose legitimate dissent. An individual does not become the target of an FBI security investigation simply because he or she opposes Government policy or because he exercises his constitutional rights to dissent.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Koen Seeks \$6,000,000 Over FBI Activities

By ROBERT ADAMS
Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Dec. 11 — The Rev. Charles Koen, head of the United Front in Cairo, Ill., filed a suit today asking for \$6,000,000 in damages for what he called a conspiracy by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to intimidate and harass him.

The suit was filed in United States District Court here. Named as defendants were the estate of the late J. Edgar Hoover, who was director of the FBI, former U.S. Attorney General John N. Mitchell; J. Wallace LaPrade, who was in charge of the St. Louis FBI office when some of the alleged harassment occurred, and 14 "unknown agents" of the FBI.

Referring to several incidents publicized recently by the Senate Intelligence Committee, the Rev. Mr. Koen said the defendants performed the acts "wilfully, intentionally, recklessly and maliciously." He said their purpose was "slandering, defaming, harassing and humiliating" him.

The Rev. Mr. Koen asked for \$1,000,000 in actual damages and \$5,000,000 in punitive damages. He demanded a trial by jury.

The suit charged that from 1968 until the present, the FBI had "commenced, organized and implemented a conspiracy to intimidate, harass and silence" the Rev. Mr. Koen. It said the FBI's actions slandered and defamed him, invaded his privacy, and subjected him to unlawful harassment.

Four specific incidents were cited in the suit. The incidents were among those documented by the Senate panel.

In one incident, the suit said, the FBI sent a letter to the Rev. Mr. Koen's wife depicting him as unfaithful. The suit said the purpose of the letter was "to create dissension and hatred" between the Rev. Mr. Koen and his wife, and to distract him from his civil rights activities.

The suit said also that the FBI prepared and distributed "a scurrilous and defamatory cartoon" depicting the Rev. Mr. Koen as someone who used the civil rights movement for his personal advantage.

It said the FBI also sent a letter to an Episcopal bishop aimed at cutting off

the church's financial support for the United Front. It said the FBI sent other letters whose purpose was to destroy his good relationship with his friends and associates in the civil rights movement.

As a result of the FBI's actions, the suit charged, the Rev. Mr. Koen "has been greatly damaged in his good name and reputation among his associates, his wife, his family and the community at large."

The suit noted that similar efforts allegedly were aimed at others who were active in the civil rights movement "with the ultimate purpose and intent of destroying various persons and organizations."

Testimony before the Senate panel, and documents made public by it, indicate that the FBI conducted a long-term campaign of harassment against the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and others believed by the FBI to be extremist or subversive.

In an interview shortly before the suit was filed, the Rev. Mr. Koen said he believed that one effect of his suit might be to reveal the full extent of the FBI's activities against him.

As an example, he said that he believed the FBI had asked the Internal

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Int. Bureau 12/12

Koen

■ FROM PAGE ONE

Revenue Service to harass his organization and its financial supporters. He said the IRS had investigated his finances and those of the United Front.

He said that he believed the FBI might have harassed other United Front members.

Asked if he favored criminal prosecution of FBI officials who may have been involved, the Rev. Mr. Koen said he would not press for that. "I'm more interested in reform than punishment," he said. "as a person, I'm willing to forgive them. But I hope that if anyone ever thinks about doing this kind of thing again, they will be deterred by the exposure this has received."

In St. Louis, Percy Green, chairman of the civil rights group ACTION, said he intended to make a formal request of the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency for information about any harassment conducted against ACTION members.

Other documents made public by the Senate committee indicate that the FBI sent a poison-pen letter to the husband of one ACTION member charging marital infidelity. The woman has said the incident may have contributed to the strain that eventually broke up her marriage.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Levi Will Appoint Watchdog Over Justice Dept. And FBI

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10 (AP) — Attorney General Edward H. Levi announced yesterday that he would appoint an internal Department of Justice inspector general to oversee investigations of charges of misconduct by department employees, including Federal Bureau of Investigation Agents.

Levi has signed an order establishing the office of professional responsibility and said he would appoint someone to operate it within two weeks.

Levi is carrying out promises made by two predecessors as much as two years ago. Former Attorney General Elliot L. Richardson first proposed appointing an inspector general in the department shortly before he was forced out of office in October 1973.

The next Attorney General, William B. Saxbe, issued an order last January establishing the office. But the order took effect about two weeks before Saxbe resigned and it had not been put into practice until now.

Levi said he had decided to establish the office "to ensure that departmental employees continue to perform their duties in accord with the professional standards expected of the nation's principal law enforcement agency."

Department spokesmen said the counsel on professional responsibility would review the investigations now pending in the internal inspection units of five department agencies — the FBI, the Drug Enforcement Agency, the

Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the U.S. Marshals Service.

The counsel would decide "what he should handle and what investigations should remain where they are" and would present those recommendations to the Attorney General, a spokesman said.

Several department agencies have been involved in recent investigations charging misconduct, even after the Watergate investigation led to the criminal conviction of a former Attorney General and after evidence of improprieties forced other department

officials from office. The department's Criminal Division is still investigating allegations of corruption in the drug agency and in the immigration service, and a federal grand jury in Richmond, Va., is investigating allegations of wrongdoing by several FBI agents in a wire-tap case.

officials from office.

The department's Criminal Division is still investigating allegations of corruption in the drug agency and in the immigration service, and a federal grand jury in Richmond, Va., is investigating allegations of wrongdoing by several FBI agents in a wire-tap case.

Levi said he would appoint an unspecified number of department officials to a Committee on Professional Responsibility to oversee the office.

Levi's order requires the office to make regular reports to him to evaluate the effectiveness of investigations conducted by other inspection units.

ducted by other inspection units.

The order provides for the counsel to report to the solicitor general or the deputy attorney general if it "would be inappropriate" to report to the Attorney General. Such might be the case if the Attorney General or his staff were under investigation.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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FBI — ST. LOUIS	

Presidents, not Hoover, misused FBI powers . . .

By LOUIS M. KOHLMEIER

WASHINGTON — Each day it becomes more embarrassingly apparent that the press — or the "liberal eastern establishment press," as Richard Nixon used to say — owes Nixon an apology. Not for what the press did to Nixon. For what the press failed to do to liberal Democratic Presidents.

As Nixon was ridden out of the White House, he kept screaming that he had done nothing worse than other Presidents. Nobody listened.

Nixon still claims that his extraordinary and illegal uses of presidential power were required for national security. To Nixon's mind, opposition to his policies was the equivalent of insurrection against the government. Long-haired kids, militant blacks and assorted white Democrats were communists or the equivalent.

Ergo, dissent threatened national security. National security justifies extraordinary and illegal uses of presidential power.

Each day now it becomes more apparent that Presidents from Franklin Roosevelt through Lyndon Johnson also equated opposition to their policies with insurrection against the government.

The major difference is that other Presidents used the late J. Edgar Hoover's FBI to silence their opposition. The FBI from 1942 to 1968 committed 238 illegal burglaries against "domestic security targets." Nixon used the FBI too. But Hoover's FBI had sense enough not to burglarize the Democrats at Watergate, so Nixon's White House did it.

★ ★ ★

SENATE DEMOCRATS who began investigating misuse of presidential power have wound up blaming the FBI for illegal burglaries, wiretapping and other sins. The implication, of course, is that Democratic Presidents didn't know what the FBI was doing.

The implication is preposterous. Hoover didn't remain FBI director for 50 years by keeping Presidents in the dark and certainly not by defying Presidents.

Indeed, Roosevelt instituted and institutionalized illegal FBI wiretapping. Despite an anti-wiretapping law passed by Congress in 1934, Roosevelt in 1940 signed a secret memorandum directing the FBI to wiretap in national security cases.

Like Nixon, Roosevelt confused opposition with insurrection. Roosevelt's policy in 1940 favored U.S. intervention in World War II. Charles Lindbergh opposed intervention and the FBI investigated and harassed hundreds of Lindbergh supporters.

President Truman in 1947 reaffirmed Roosevelt's wiretapping directive. Through his Attorney General Truman received FBI data on such dissidents as the National Lawyers Guild.

In 1956, when Red scares and McCarthyism stalked the land, the FBI began its illegal COINTELPRO harassment operations for which Hoover now is defamed. But President Eisenhower and Attorney General William Rogers knew what the FBI was doing. Hoover on May 8, 1958, for instance, supplied the Attorney General and White House with details on an illegal COINTELPRO operation.

On Jan. 10, 1961, Hoover informed President Kennedy's Attorney General-designate, Robert Kennedy, of COINTELPRO. After President Johnson took office, Hoover in 1965 informed Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach. When Ramsay Clark succeeded Katzenbach, Hoover told Clark. When Nixon became President in 1969, Hoover told Attorney General John Mitchell.

★ ★ ★

Below)

THE KENNEDYS couldn't distinguish between opposition and insurrection either. When they were in power, the FBI began new COINTELPRO operations against political leftists and white racists. Robert Kennedy authorized FBI wiretaps on a half-dozen political suspects, including newsmen and government officials.

Even as Johnson publicly was championing civil rights for blacks, the FBI began a COINTELPRO operation against blacks. The FBI repeatedly bugged Martin Luther King Jr., and Katzenbach authorized at least three of the bugs.

Clearly, Nixon did nothing worse than other Presidents. But the liberal eastern establishment press never investigated other Presidents as it investigated Nixon.

For example, Johnson acquired far greater personal wealth than Nixon, but the press — with the exception of The Wall Street Journal — never investigated Johnson's wealth as it investigated Nixon's wealth. Kennedy's apparent Mafia connections were not investigated like Nixon's apparent Mafia connections.

The press was taken in. Liberal Democrats who publicly supported civil rights were not expected to violate those rights. Liberal Presidents were expected to hate Hoover. And thus Presidents before Nixon were not investigated.

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... but only Nixon's aides got caught

By JAMES J. KILPATRICK



WASHINGTON—The story of the Watergate scandal broke in June of 1972 and climaxed with Richard Nixon's resignation in August of 1974. Throughout that period, the President's defenders raised two cries.

Plaintively, bitterly, resentfully, they protested that "the press hounded Mr. Nixon out of office." They argued from the beginning that Nixon had done nothing "his predecessors didn't do before him."

Time after time, in letters, speeches, columns, and tv commentaries, I insisted the first charge was untrue and the second irrelevant. The notion that the innocence of Mr. Nixon could be established by proving the guilt of Messrs. Kennedy and Johnson struck me as nonsense. This was what my brother George F. Will ridiculed as the defense of so's-your-old-man.

Nothing has come along to change my mind. Except for a few months in the fall of 1972, when Woodward and Bernstein of the Washington Post were doing their brilliant job, the role of the press was largely reportorial. Starting early in 1973, the courts and Congress took the lead in the hounding process and the press was merely part of the pack. On the second issue, the rules of relevant evidence still strike me as clear.

☆ ☆ ☆
ALL THE SAME, recent events suggest a few reflections by way of putting it all in perspective. Disclosures from the Church Committee of the Senate and the Pike Committee of the House make it clear (1) that Nixon was the unlucky target of unprecedented attack, and (2) that the old game of "cover up" is still being played.

Nixon was unlucky for this reason above all others: His underlings got caught. The first of the many charges against him was the bugging of his political opposition. Well, we know now that Lyndon Johnson bugged his 1964 opposition in every conceivable way; but Johnson's break-and-enter artists never got caught. We know now that Franklin D. Roosevelt hired the FBI to make dossiers on his political foes; but FDR's men never got caught.

One of the most contemptible items in the catalog of Nixonian sins was the "enemies list." The idea was to get the "enemies" by having them harassed by the Internal Revenue Service. We know now that six days after his inauguration, John Kennedy sent his hatchetman, Carmine Bellino, around to the IRS for the identical purpose. We know it now.

What was the particular villainy of Mr. Nixon's famous "plumbers?" Their purpose was to discredit Daniel Ellsberg, and they made a felonious entry toward that end. How is this to be distinguished, one may inquire, from the felonious entries ordered by the Johnson administration in 1965 against Martin Luther King? Sixteen bugs and eight wiretaps! We know all this now.

☆ ☆ ☆
KENNEDY was the adored darling of the Washington press. Johnson simply bowled the reporters down. By contrast, Nixon was hated with a blood lust that made his mutilation pure delight. The record of the press for fairness and even-handed vigilance over the past 15 years is nothing to be especially proud of.

The conduct of Senator Church's investigating committee suggests that the controlling Democrats will not set much of a record of fairness either. It is remarkable, is it not, how lightly the senator treads through the Democratic past? What a tiger! What a pussy cat.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Activists Here Suspect FBI Harassment

By MARTHA SHIRK
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

A St. Louis landlord receives an anonymous letter threatening to fire-bomb his building unless he evicts a civil rights leader.

A few homosexuals show up at the home of a Socialist Workers Party member after advertisements for a "gay alliance" meeting were placed anonymously on university bulletin boards and a newspaper.

A man identifying himself as a police officer breaks into a phone conversation between a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and her mother.

Are these incidents the work of cranks—or, as some persons suspect, the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Documents made public by a United States Senate select committee in November confirmed suspicions that civil rights leaders and socialist activists had harbored for years—that the FBI waged a clandestine campaign of harassment,

surveillance and disruption against the New Left and civil rights groups.

The FBI's Cointelpro (counter-intelligence) operation was undertaken in May 1968, "to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents," FBI documents show. Agents were told to cause an aura of suspicion that would lead leftists to believe that FBI agents lurked behind every mailbox.

The FBI has said that its Cointelpro efforts ended April 28, 1971, shortly after files stolen from a branch office in Media, Pa., offered the first evidence of the extent of the FBI's campaign against the Left.

But interviews with about 30 persons who have been active in political and social reform movements in St. Louis indicate that many think the FBI engaged in secret harassment of them today. Many said they had not suspected that the FBI might have been involved

until recently, when public revelations pointed a finger at the agency.

Several former FBI agents in charge of the St. Louis office were reached by the Post-Dispatch in recent weeks, but they refused to discuss the allegations. Also refusing to comment was Leon Dobbs, present assistant agent in charge of the St. Louis office. He and others directed inquiries to FBI headquarters in Washington. Officials there refused to discuss the allegations on the telephone. They said they would respond only to written requests.

The harassment described by local civil rights leaders and leftists—although not corroborated—is similar to that authorized by former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and used against civil rights workers and antiwar activists in the past.

Three weeks ago, Robert Williams's landlord received an anonymous type-written letter claiming that the FBI had evidence that Williams was a member of the Communist Party. The author said

the landlord's building would be fire-bombed unless he evicted Williams.

Williams is not a member of the Communist Party, but he serves on the national boards of the Alliance Against Racist and Political Oppression and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists—groups in which Communist Party members have played leading roles.

Williams maintains that the fire bomb threat was the latest in a series of FBI-provoked incidents directed against him.

"The FBI has visited me in the past and asked me over and over again whether I believe in violence," he said. "Treasury agents have visited me on the job. And I think that their visit—and the conclusions people tend to draw from visits by Government agents—led to my dismissal from my job as a youth worker in 1973."

The Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyite organization that periodically runs candidates for public office, has

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ST. LOUIS, MO.

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Edition: Sunday
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Editor:
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FBI

FROM PAGE ONE

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And in 1971, Mrs. Savio says, she was dismissed from a job as counselor in the Hancock Place School District after school officials received a letter from a group called the Counter-Revolutionary Council Dedicated to a Free America. The letter called her a Communist subversive. A similar letter was sent to St. Louis school officials in 1974 after they hired her as an elementary teacher, but she was not dismissed.

What leads Mrs. Savio to blame the FBI is the fact that both letters contained information to which only the FBI would have been privy — photos of Mrs. Savio at demonstrations and meetings, a detailed summary of her political activities, a copy of the advertisement for the "gay alliance" meeting, and a copy of a check she wrote to another party member.

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The alliance sought a court injunction against the FBI in October 1974 after members learned that the FBI planned to monitor the alliance's national convention at the Jefferson Hotel the following December.

Although a New York judge issued an injunction forbidding the FBI to attend the convention, an appeals court subsequently overturned that decision, arguing that cover identities established by FBI infiltrators would be blown if they stayed away from the group's convention.

A Washington University professor who was active in the antiwar movement has reassessed several suspicious incidents in the past and has concluded that they were products of the FBI's counter-intelligence program.

"What I used to think was just right-wing harassment I now think were the FBI's dirty tricks," said Richard M. Hazleton, a professor of English.

Hazleton said members of a local group known as the Radical Action Committee had received a photograph of him in the mail several years ago. "Written in pen on the other side of the photo was the information that I was an FBI informer assigned to spy on them and that my code name was Jake," Hazleton said. Hazleton said the committee members had not taken the allegation seriously.

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A St. Charles County woman who went to Cuba with the same group said FBI agents had visited her parents in Chicago with questions about her political activities, and she accuses the FBI of leaking her name to a Chicago newspaper, which published a story saying that she and other Venceremos Brigade members were learning guer-

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Editor: PRO)

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100-22793 (B. BOWMAN)

100-20958 (R. HAZELTON)

100-21747 (G. CALLEN)

157-5957 (C. KOEN)

100-21556 (A. ARONSON)

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Denies Harassment Here Since '71

By LINDA EARDLEY
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has denied that it harassed leftists and civil rights leaders in the St. Louis area after 1971 but refused to comment on whether it engaged in harassment of activists before 1971.

The FBI's comment was in response to a Post-Dispatch article published Sunday. The story quoted several area activists who suspect that the FBI has been harassing them for several years. The allegations include the sending of anonymous letters and other actions designed to smear the reputations and to disrupt the lives of persons in social and political reform movements.

FBI officials here and in Washington had refused to talk about the allegations to a reporter on the telephone. They had said they would respond only to written requests.

In the statement yesterday, Edward Gooderham, a special agent in the press service office of FBI headquarters in Washington, said, "I want to categorically deny that any of these programs or activities took place after 1971. That was the year the FBI discontinued the program."

Gooderham apparently was referring to the agency's Cointelpro (counter-intelligence program) which was undertaken in May 1968. FBI documents say the purpose of the operation was "to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents." The Cointelpro efforts ended April 28, 1971, the FBI has said.

Gooderham's comments yesterday added: "As for charges about alleged FBI activities that took place prior to 1971, the FBI is not making any comments at this time. The FBI will

withhold comments until the completion of (congressional) committee hearings on these matters and the lawsuits settled."

FBI documents made public this fall by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence disclosed extensive harassment between 1968 and 1971 against the Rev. Charles J. Koen, leader of the United Front in ~~Cairo~~, Ill. The Rev. Mr.

Koen has filed a ~~\$5,000,000~~ damage suit against the FBI.

The Socialist Workers Party has filed a \$27,000,000 damage suit against the FBI seeking a permanent injunction against further harassment.

One of the targets of the alleged harassment was Mrs. Helen Savio, the Socialist Workers candidate for Governor of Missouri. She blames the FBI for sending two of her employers anony-

mous letters charging that she was a Communist subversive and disseminating information linking her with homosexuals.

Other members of the Socialist Workers Party and its youth wing, the Young Socialist Alliance, say that they have been visited by FBI agents at their places of work, subjected to telephone taps and mail interception and photographed at demonstrations.

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

USLP Legal Offensive Making The Invisible Government Show Up In Court

by Ed Spannaus, NCLC Organizational Director
Jan. 4 — Information reaching the Labor Committees from a high-level government source has confirmed that the FBI and the Justice Department are extremely worried about the U.S. Labor Party's legal offensive against the FBI. The FBI's hope is that the Labor Party will be so "overextended" by the number of lawsuits we are now running that we will not have the money or the lawyers to conduct them to a successful conclusion.

The major concern of the Justice Department, the source added, is to protect FBI Director Clarence Kelley from the Labor Party's Detroit FBI case which is scheduled for trial in February, and which the Labor Party plaintiffs have an excellent chance of winning against Kelley, former Attorney General Saxbe, and the Detroit Police Department.

Levi and the Justice Department have good reason to be concerned. The Labor Party, through the Labor Organizers Defense Fund, now has four law suits filed against the FBI, among the 22 civil suits which the USLP has brought in Federal courts around the country. Many other suits are pending, including vote fraud cases and immigration cases which will name Levi and Henry Kissinger. There is sufficient evidence in these court cases to put Kelley, Levi, and a good part of the Invisible Government out of commission and into prison for crimes ranging from attempted murder to obscenity.

The FBI and the Department of Justice are not just relying on their legal briefs to get them through. In addition to the usual harassment designed to restrict the Labor Party's financial base, a very specific campaign of slander and harassment among lawyers is being conducted by the FBI and related agencies to prevent the Labor Party from obtaining legal representation. This has gone so far as to include implied threats of disbarment against the Labor Party's only full-time staff attorney, David Heller.

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New York, New York

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The Detroit Case

The civil suit against the FBI and the Detroit Police Department filed in July, 1974 is now in the "discovery" stage and will probably go to trial in February or March. The cause of action in the Detroit case was the infiltration of an FBI agent, Vernon Higgins, into the Labor Party; Higgins, a veteran of the FBI-directed Pontiac bus bombing, got himself nominated as a USLP candidate for the Michigan Legislature before he was discovered to be a police agent. After Higgins confessed to being an agent, the Detroit Police and the FBI conducted a raid at gunpoint upon the Detroit NCLC-USLP offices and stole files and records during the raid.

The Justice Department filed numerous motions attempting to get Kelley and Saxbe removed from the case, but these motions were successfully opposed by Labor Party attorneys. This means that the Labor Party now has the right to put Kelley and Saxbe under oath and question them.

The USLP has submitted one set of interrogatories — questions to be answered in writing under oath — to the lower level FBI agents named as defendants. The USLP has also moved for disclosure of the files maintained by the Detroit Police Department on the NCLC and Labor Party. In the FBI's answers to the complaint and in the answers to interrogatories, the FBI so far has lied through its teeth, maintaining

that Higgins was essentially a "volunteer" informant who had no directions or instructions from his FBI controllers. They admit that Higgins was an informant and that he attended the May 1974 NCLC National Conference as an informant, but they deny telling him to run for office, etc., which directly contradicts Higgins' own statements made to Labor Party members. The FBI agents have also refused disclosure of files and information given them by Higgins; USLP attorneys will now seek a "motion to compel" to force them to answer these questions.

While lying and stonewalling their way through answers, the Justice Department has submitted its first set of interrogatories to the plaintiffs, asking questions which are completely outside the normal bounds of legal discovery. Here are some of their questions:

102. Describe the Michigan organization, including names of state leadership.

103. Describe the National Party organization, including names of the National leadership. (...as if they didn't know already!)

104. State whether the Party advocates the violent overthrow of the United States Government.

106. State whether the United States Labor Party or the National Caucus of Labor Committees has initiated any campaign(s) intended to harass or intimidate the Federal Bureau of Investigation or made any other efforts to interfere with the performance of its lawful duties.

107. State the names of the lawsuits presently pending in which the United States Labor Party or the National Caucus of Labor Committees is a plaintiff and the FBI or one of its Special Agents is a defendant...

While these questions will be objected to on the grounds that they are irrelevant and designed only to enable the FBI to continue its harassment of Labor Party members, their inclusion in the interrogatories gives a fair reading on state of mind of the defendants Kelley, Saxbe, and the other FBI agents in whose names the interrogatories were submitted. In this case as in all cases in which the FBI is being sued by the Labor Party, Kelley and the FBI are being represented by Richard Thornburgh, head of the criminal division, and lawyers from the Internal Security Section's "Special Litigation" group — the section charged with enforcement of the Smith Act and the McCarran Act.

Other FBI Cases

The Labor Party, through the Labor Organizers Defense Fund (LODF), has also filed a number of other cases in which Kelley, Levi, and the FBI are named as defendants. These are the following:

The Reading case: Agents of the FBI, the Treasury Department's Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms division (ATF), and the Reading Police Department are being sued in Reading, Pa., by Labor Party members. This case will expose the seamiest underside of the invisible Government — the terrorist, gun-running, drug-running operations which center in Reading, and which are run through FBI- and CIA-controlled right-wing groups like the KKK and "left wing" covers like the Revolutionary Union. For example, the dynamite used in the 1971 Pontiac bus bombing came through the Reading FBI-ATF network. (Vernon Higgins, the FBI agent being sued in the Detroit case, was also involved in setting up the Pontiac bus bombing as an FBI agent.)

When the Labor Party began to expose these illegal operations, it was hit with a massive wave of harassment, including illegal arrests, kidnappings, and death threats. The suit charges that these acts were the result of a conspiracy among the FBI, ATF, and local police.

The "Banks case." Suit has been filed in federal district court in New Jersey against Anthony Banks, local FBI agents, and Clarence Kelley and Edward Levi, as a result of testimony given by Banks that he stole membership lists and other materials from the Newark USLP offices and gave them to the FBI. The Justice Department has filed a 33-page motion to dismiss, which must now be answered by USLP attorneys.

Freedom-of-Information Act. Suit was filed on Dec. 1 against Levi and Kelley asking for disclosure of FBI files on the NCLC and USLP members and organization under the Freedom of Information Act. The suit further charges that the FBI is using its claims of investigation of the NCLC under the Smith Act as a means of carrying on COINTELPRO harassment, and asks for an injunction against further COINTELPRO actions and a declaratory judgment that the Justice Department and the FBI cannot conduct so-called investigations under the unconstitutional Smith Act and McCarran Act. The FBI has refused to disclose numerous files on NCLC members on the grounds that these are "investigatory" files.

Another civil suit against the FBI in Ohio is now pending, awaiting sponsorship by the Cleveland ACLU. This case grows out of a search of a Labor Party member's apartment by FBI

agents and a series of related FBI harassments in the northern Ohio steel belt.

Stopping COINTELPRO

A second major battlefield in the USLP and LODF legal offensive is the area of election fraud, in which there are a total of ten cases either filed or pending. Many of these cases are presently "stuck" due to lack of lawyers and money, but the possibility of free elections in 1976 depends largely on the outcome of these cases. The third major area is in the area of First Amendment rights, which includes over a dozen civil rights suits against local police officials for violating the civil rights of USLP organizers through arrests on "nuisance" charges such as soliciting, use of bullhorn, etc.

Finally, one of the most important cases now being conducted by the Labor Party is *LaRouche v. Rockefeller*, which charges Nelson Rockefeller, Governor Carey, and the New York State Police and New York City Police with illegal surveillance and harassment. A preliminary hearing on this case produced legal findings which have now been submitted to Congress as evidence that Rockefeller perjured himself during his confirmation hearings on the critical issue of his use of the State Police for political surveillance while he was Governor of New York State.

These cases, and at this point only these cases, can stop COINTELPRO. Anybody who claims to be fighting COINTELPRO but who ignores the USLP's material and legal cases is — even with the best of intentions — simply nibbling around the edges. Since the bulk of COINTELPRO activity today is focused on the Labor Party (with

a certain amount also aimed at the Black Caucus and other Congressmen), any effort to "fight COINTELPRO" without the USLP is bound to be a failure or a fraud.

The FBI's Counterattack

There is ongoing a major operation by the FBI and other "Invisible Government" agencies to prevent the USLP from obtaining legal representation and money to conduct these cases. This operation is run nationally through the various "radical" lawyer organizations such as the Maoist-run National Lawyers Guild, the SWP's counter-gang Political Rights Defense Fund, and also emanates from sections of the national American Civil Liberties Union. Typical lines of slander running through such networks are "the NCLC is crazy," "they beat people up," "they threaten lawyers," and so on. The USLP is aware of instances where the FBI has called lawyers pretending to be the Labor Party telling lawyers "if you don't take our cases, we're going to get you."

Within the agent-ridden National Lawyers Guild, some of those who were the most notorious anti-communists in the 1950s and the 1960s against the CPUSA are now the most vigorous defenders of the CP against the Labor Party. Or take the case of William Goodman of Detroit, who defends every Maoist anarchist in town, including Progressive Labor Party members who have violently attacked Labor Party organizers in recent months, but who recently withdrew as local counsel in the Detroit FBI case claiming that it had recently (!) come to his attention that the Labor Party makes "unprincipled attacks, including physical attacks" on other left groups. Such high standards these types maintain!

Coinciding with these agent operations in legal circles is a concerted campaign from the Justice Department directed against any lawyers working with the Labor Party. Paul Chevigny of the NYCLU recently hysterically withdrew from the LODF Advisory Board and threatened to sue LODF for using his name, after he had earlier agreed to work with the LODF and had advised us on a number of cases.

Justice Department lawyers, so confident that we could not find a lawyer for the Reading suit, submitted only one motion to dismiss, on the grounds that David Heller is not a member of the Pennsylvania bar.

During the 1940s and 1950s, lawyers who defended Communist Party members were often victimized by the FBI and numbers were disbarred during the McCarthy period. The same sort of pressures are being brought today against lawyers around the Labor Party, but many of those who were victimized in the 1950s are now aiding the government in its campaign against us. This is not merely the concern of the lawyer community. It is of vital importance to every worker committed to stopping the establishment of a police state in this country.

The working class of this country will determine whether the funds and lawyers are available to stop COINTELPRO. The legal ammunition to destroy the Rockefeller Gestapo — the same Gestapo that makes many factories and ghettos of this country into virtual concentration camps — is in our possession. The targets are visible and moving. What is lacking is only the money and honest lawyers — and they, like Congressmen in this country, will only get their spine from the working class.

WANTED



For Crimes Against Humanity
FBI Director Clarence Kelley

"The major concern of the Justice Department is to protect FBI Director Clarence Kelley from the Labor Party's Detroit FBI case which is scheduled for trial in February..."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Antiwar students harassed by FBI

by Greg Freeman

The harassment of private citizens by Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents, particularly during the period of antiwar activities on campus, not only involved professors, but students as well, *Student Life* has discovered.

Steve Graham, a former WU student and antiwar demonstrator, stated that immediately following the burning of the ROTC building on February 23, 1970, the FBI had attempted to interview him a number of times, but that he always refused.

"They also tried to get me to answer questions after Howard Mechanic disappeared," he said. Mechanic was convicted of throwing cherry bombs at firemen

who attempted to put out the fire at the ROTC building.

"What they apparently did, in relation to the Mechanic case," Graham said, "was to obtain a copy of my phone bill and trace all of my long-distance calls."

"I knew this because I was staying with a couple of people at the time," Graham continued. "People who either I or my roommates had called long-distance would call us and tell us that people who identified themselves as the FBI had contacted them and asked them if they knew me or Mechanic."

Bob Zeffert, presently the owner of Left Bank Books, as well as a former WU student and antiwar demonstrator, confirmed Graham's story. "Yeah, they apparently traced all long-distance calls that we had made," Zeffert said.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P1-4, *Student Life*,
St. Louis, Missouri

1/23/76

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor: 100-21213 (COINTEL

Title: PRO)

100-21594 (Left Bank)

100-21490 (STEPHEN

Character: GRAHAM)

100-21339 (MECHANIC)

Class: 100-21859 (ZEFFERT)

Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-140

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 26 1976	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

One of ~~the~~ people who was traced by the FBI was Zeffert's brother, Steve. "At the time, I lived nine-hundred miles away," the latter Zeffert said. "Yet the FBI came to my apartment and really bothered my roommate and I. They would show us pictures of people that they had taken pictures of at demonstrations in St. Louis, and ask us to identify them. The weird thing was that I was living in Baltimore at that time."

"Every couple of weeks, they'd come around and visit me," Bob Zeffert said. "They'd always try to ask me questions, and I'd refuse to answer without the presence of a lawyer."

"Sure, some of my friends may have been involved in illegal acts," Zeffert commented. "But the only law that they may have broken was that of civil disobedience. It seems to me that people have to make moral judgments, and if they're not bothering anyone, I don't see what harm they're doing."

Zeffert said that once when the FBI had come to his home, he was told that he had better call his lawyer. "I tried to get him on the phone, but his line was busy, so they just left."

"They had apparently been watching both me and my friends," Zeffert continued. "When they left my house, I immediately went to Left Bank Books, which was located where Talayna's is

now, and was owned by some friends of mine. Waiting in the alley by Left Bank were FBI people I had seen earlier. I figured that they must have been keeping a constant watch on people."

"My most recent incident with the FBI was about a year and a half ago, after I became the owner of Left Bank," Zeffert said that FBI agents would enter the store and question him concerning why he carried certain books that they apparently disapproved of.

Zeffert made some general comments about the FBI. "I think that the FBI was possibly one of the things that killed the movement." There were other

was probably ~~one~~ of them."

"They would come around and bother people so often that we even got to know their names. French and Weber were two of the most bothersome. But the FBI would always be around, trying to listen to everything that was said, so much so that no one would want to say anything at all. What they did was to create an atmosphere of paranoia, so much so that people would spend their time trying to protect themselves, rather than thinking of ways to fight problems that we were facing."

"There was always constant pressure on anyone who was the least bit political. They'd always let political people know that

they were being watched, they'd take pictures at demonstrations,

In an attempt to contact the federal FBI agency earlier this week, *Student Life* was told that the bureau would make "absolutely no comment" concerning FBI harassment, saying that the matter is presently before the U.S. Senate ~~Selects~~ Committee.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Continental CREEP Harassment for Five-day Period Ending Jan. 12

	Total	Street	Network	Police	Dirty Tricks	Arrests
Jan. 12	23	11	8	6	2	2
Jan. 11	12	4	7	0	1	0
Jan. 10	35	15	18	3	6	0
Jan. 9	14	6	6	4	2	1
Jan. 8	27	11	15	2	2	3
Total	111	47	54	15	13	6

FBI Tries 'Extra Dirty' Tricks To Stop Organizers

Jan. 14 (IPS)—Unable to contain the spread of the U.S. Labor Party's Operation Takeover with their usual bag of dirty tricks, Edward Levi's COINTELPRO agents have launched progressively more vicious operations in the recent period. While continent-wide street and network harassment of the USLP has remained high, selected USLP members and supporters are being subjected to extremely extensive harassment based on in-depth CREEP profiles of their personal family and medical problems.

In Indianapolis, U.S. Labor Party member Roxanne Grimmus is being subjected to an intensive LEEA-FBI harassment campaign carried out with the complicity of the city's LEEA-run police force. Grimmus, who is under treatment for a possible epileptic condition, blacked out four times within two hours the night of Jan. 12 after drinking a can of bitter tasting soda from her refrigerator.

A member of the USLP who was with Grimmus immediately called the Indianapolis police poison unit and an ambulance after noting a crystalline substance in the bottom of the soda container.

Although Grimmus has been under severe harassment for the last two weeks, an operation which has included five robberies of her apartment since Jan. 4, Indianapolis police have refused to cooperate with the USLP in investigating either the robberies or the Jan. 12 poisoning. Moreover, police have informed the hospital staff who attended Grimmus after the poisoning that an analysis of the suspicious soda can is

unnecessary. According to police, an unidentified "friend" of the USLP member has confirmed that the black-outs were due to an overdose of Grimmus' normal epilepsy medication.

Charlotte

In Charlotte, N.C., a network of CREEP stringers, including a local medical doctor, has forced a leading USLP member out of active organizing and has attempted to drive her husband—a rapidly developing Labor Party periphery—into a paranoid state.

The two-month long terror operation against the USLP couple has included continuous late-night phone calls to the organizer intimating that her husband is involved in an extra-marital affair, and the sabotage of the family car. During this period, the husband's estranged ex-wife reappeared and threatened to take her child, legally in the custody of her ex-husband, away from the couple.

Several days after this experience, the USLP member visited local doctors Butler and May seeking help for chronic fatigue. She was informed of a recently developed condition of high blood pressure by one of the physicians. The doctor, however, reported privately to her husband telling him, "Your wife will die if she is not removed from the stress she is under..." An immediate crisis ensued in the household with the husband leaving work for two weeks to feed his wife specially prescribed medicine from an unlabelled bottle.

The U.S. Labor Party is now laying plans for the citywide exposure of both Drs. Butler and May for their complicity in immoral medical practices.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P5, New Solidarity,
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Date: 1/16/76
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character: 100-21213
or (COINTELPRO)
Classification: 100-22740 (NCLC)
Submitting Office:

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-141

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 19 1976	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Cointelpro in effect**Professors harassed by FBI**

by Greg Freeman

First of a Series.

The recent rash of disclosures concerning Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) harassment of private citizens and organizations has revealed FBI involvement at Washington University.

Professor of English Richard Hazelton has disclosed a number of suspicious incidents which, in light of recent revelations, have led him to believe that they were part of the FBI's counterintelligence program.

Hazelton, who was active in the antiwar movement of the late 1960's and early 1970's, cited

an incident which occurred in late 1970. Plainclothes policemen had broken up a demonstration of students, and began chasing them. One of the first students they grabbed was WU student Clay Claiborn. Hazelton was one of the people who posted bond for Claiborn and other students who were arrested.

"The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* later did a story which I thought was rather unorthodox in the field of journalism, and that was to print the names and addresses of those persons who did post bond," Hazelton said. "I began to receive hate letters, hate phone calls, and general citizen harassment."

Shortly thereafter, Hazelton was visited at his home by men who identified themselves as members of the FBI Task Force. "They were really quite vague about what they wanted," Hazelton said. "I think they mainly came to look me over. What they got was a lecture on the evils of

—Earlier, Hazelton, had received a letter containing a death threat. "The letter told me to give up my anti-war activities," Hazelton said. "The letter was signed 'Patriotic Party,' had the cross-hairs symbol, which was the logo used by a right-wing group known as the Minutemen, and was postmarked from Narbonne, Missouri."

Hazelton stated that he contacted the FBI and complained about the threat. "The guy at the FBI, whose name was French, seemed annoyed that I contacted them about this matter. When I

came in French sat at a desk in front of me, with another guy who stared at me, immobile, the entire time I was there. They asked me all sorts of irrelevant questions. When they asked my father's occupation, I simply decided to leave. I've since read that the 'Patriotic Party' was in front for the Minutemen."

Robert DePew, who was the national leader of the Minutemen, lives in Narbonne.

According to a recent article in the *San Diego Union*, the FBI created and financed an extreme-right-wing organization called the Secret Army Organization to attack dissidents in the early 1970's. The organization was founded after the right-wing FBI-funded Minutemen group was forced to disband in 1969, the story said. The paper described the group as a "centrally designed and exter-

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pl-4, Student Life,
St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 1/20/76

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: 100-20958 (HAZELTON)

100-21747 (G. ALLEN)

100-22740 (NCLC)

Character: 100-21213 (COINTELPRO)

157-4502 (Minutemen)

Classification: 100-21488 (Wash. U.)

Submitting Office:

SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-142

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 21 1976	
FBI - ST. LOUIS	

Weber

(INFO)

nally financed infrastructure designed for terror and sabotage."

The group, whose tactics included arming members with automatic weapons and explosives, broke into the homes and offices of Vietnam War protesters, made death threats against local dissidents and politically active persons, advocated armed and violent overthrow of the government, plotted to kidnap certain radicals, and shot a San Diego woman, the *Union* reported.

Hazelton's latest encounter with U.S. intelligence agencies took place last month. "I was attending a general meeting on the subject of radicalism on campus, which was sponsored by Telos, a group made up mainly of sociology students, when two people, a man and a woman, came in, passed out literature, and attempted to disrupt the meeting. The literature that they passed out was from the U.S. Labor Party. Before they were forced to leave the room, they took out cameras and attempted to take pictures of people in the room."

A recent article in the *Guardian* has revealed that the U.S. Labor Party is a CIA-funded organization.

When asked whether he believed that WU administration officials had given information to intelligence agencies during the antiwar movement, Hazelton expressed doubt. "Of course, I have no way of knowing for sure, but I think that as much as possible, the administration tried to protect people who were protesting the war."

WU Associate Professor of

biology, Garland Allen, disagrees. "I would imagine that the University was quite upset," said Allen. "During the time of the antiwar demonstrations and the burning of the ROTC building, I think that the University was quite worried over the possibility that corporate directors and alumni would stop giving WU money."

Allen was a member of an organization known as the Venceremos Brigade which traveled to Cuba in 1970 to help harvest sugar cane. "When we went to Cuba, we went via Chicago. When we boarded the buses there, there were plain-clothes policemen trying to talk to people and take pictures. On our way to Cuba, we were stopped several times by state troopers and at times asked for ID."

Allen stated that there were



Garland Allen, WU Associate Professor of biology, one of a number of people who has been harassed by the F.B.I. photo by A. Rueter

~~some agents~~ on the trip itself who were posing as journalists. "The Cubans found that out and sent them home," Allen said.

After he returned, Allen said that he received a lot of hate mail and anonymous phone calls which he said might have been prompted by the FBI.

Allen said that he was called several times afterwards by the FBI and asked to come in, but he never complied.

Allen was called by the FBI a year and a half ago. "They told me ~~that they~~ wanted to see me, so

I ~~invited~~ them to my office," Allen said. "The voice on the phone said that the FBI made it a practice of not visiting college campuses. I knew that wasn't true because I had seen FBI agents here a number of times. I asked the man what the FBI wanted to see me about, and he told me that it had something to do with a foreign power, though he couldn't tell me over the phone. I never went in."

Burton Wheeler, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, supported Hazelton's belief that the University gave no information to federal agents. "All I can say is that to the best of my

knowledge, the University ~~gave~~ out absolutely no information. I know that some universities did give out such information during the period of the antiwar movement, but I think that that's rather hard-line."

"I was never approached by any governmental agency," Wheeler said. "I can guarantee that of all the people known to me, there was absolutely no approachment by federal agencies nor information shared."

Norman Schneider, director of campus police, stated that the only interaction he had with agents on campus was immediately following the burning of the ROTC building. "FBI agents conducted an investigation on campus at that time," said Schneider, "But they always identified themselves, and I never heard any complaints or criticisms on the way they conducted themselves on campus. As far as I know, they were always out in the open and above board."

The St. Louis FBI bureau refused to comment on any charges of harassment. *Student Life* contacted the federal FBI agency, and was told that the ureau would make no comment, as the matter is presently before the U.S. Senate ~~Select~~ Committee.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Countered 'Hate Groups'

WASHINGTON, March 8 (UPI) — The Federal Bureau of Investigation actively sought "to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize" the Ku Klux Klan, the American Communist Party, and a variety of "hate groups," according to documents made public today by a Senate committee.

Under its co-ordinated Counterintelligence Program — known as COINTELPRO — the FBI apparently went far beyond mere intelligence-gathering activities and itself became directly involved in activities of a political nature,

nist Party (CP) and its leaders into disrepute before the American public and cause confusion and dissatisfaction among the rank-and-file members of the CP."

The memo, similarly, outlined and recommended action for disrupting the Socialist Workers Party.

according to hundreds of documents made public by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

The memorandum, dated Sept. 2, 1964, prepared under the direction of the late FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, announced the creation of COINTELPRO, saying specifically:

"The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various Klans and hate organizations, their leadership and adherents.

"The activities of these groups must

be followed on a continuous basis so we may take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and also inspire action opportunities where circumstances warrant.

"In every instance, consideration should be given to disrupting the organized activity of these groups and no opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon the organizational and personal conflicts of their leadership," the memo said.

It was dispatched to FBI offices in the

South from Baltimore to Tampa, and New York to Chicago.

Another memo nearly a decade earlier detailed FBI efforts to harass left-wing political groups such as the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

One document dated Aug. 28, 1956, for example, stated:

"During its investigation of the Communist Party, USA, the Bureau has sought to capitalize on incidents involving the party and its leaders in order to foster factionalism, bring the Commu-

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pl-6, St. Louis
Post-Dispatch, St.
Louis, Mo.

Date: 3/8/76

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or 100-21213

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Submitting Office: SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-143

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MAR 11 1976	
FBI — SAINT LOUIS	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI To Inform Past Targets Of Cointelpro

©1976, New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON, March 31 — Attorney General Edward H. Levi will soon order the Federal Bureau of Investigation to notify those persons who were the victims in a 17-year-long FBI program of harassment and "dirty tricks." Levi is acting on his interpretation at the new Privacy Act passed last year.

Informed Department of Justice sources said yesterday that the directive from Levi would come in a week. The way will then be open for hundreds — perhaps thousands — of individuals to seek the destruction of information gathered about them.

The mass notification program will also subject the Justice Department to the possibility of a barrage of civil lawsuits.

In a related development, Representative Bella S. Abzug (Dem.), New York, disclosed yesterday that Levi had approved a request by Joseph Kraft, the syndicated columnist, for the destruction of information compiled about him by the FBI during a trip to Paris in 1969.

Mrs. Abzug hailed as "a landmark action" Levi's interpretation of the Privacy Act, which took effect last

September, to include as inappropriate materials those containing information that was otherwise lawfully gathered by the FBI.

The surveillance of Kraft was not a part of Cointelpro, the FBI's 17-year program, but was carried out on orders from J. Edgar Hoover, then FBI director, because of his concern about Kraft's

contacts with representatives of the North Vietnamese government and the Viet Cong then at the Paris peace talks.

Kraft said he had been allowed to see the soon-to-be-destroyed materials, and had not known "whether to laugh or cry" on discovering that the files contained mostly "political gossip."

The late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King was a victim of Cointelpro, and for at least six years was subjected to telephone taps and other invasions of this civil rights organization, including listening devices placed in his hotel rooms.

The Cointelpro effort, which began in 1956 and was formally halted by Hoover in 1972, included 12 separate programs directed against the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Ku Klux Klan and groups of students and New Left radicals.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pl, St. Louis
Post-Dispatch,
St. Louis, Mo.

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Author:

Editor:

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100-21213-144

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APR 2 1976	
FBI — SAINT LOUIS	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI reveals '67 drive to harass black groups

Globe-Democrat-Washington Post
News Service

WASHINGTON — The FBI has made public previously secret documents describing how in 1967 it instituted a "counterintelligence" program to disrupt and discredit "black nationalist, hate-type organizations."

The documents, obtained by a group of reporters Monday under the Freedom of Information Act, involve one of the various covert campaigns conducted by the FBI under the general term COINTELPRO.

THESE ACTIVITIES, which were carried on between 1956 and 1971, were ordered by the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover to harass allegedly militant political groups of the right and the left.

Disclosures by the press and Congress have already made clear that a number of black organizations were major targets of the COINTELPRO activities. As a result, the documents released Monday track over information that has become known from other sources and contain few surprises.

Of principal interest are two letters from FBI headquarters to field offices that establish when the program against black groups was started and supply some additional facts about its aims and methods.

One letter, dated Aug. 25, 1967, specified that the bureau was about to begin a program against black groups and warned field agents not to confuse it with already existing COINTELPRO

activities aimed at the U. S. Communist Party and related organizations or the Ku Klux Klan and "hate-type groups primarily consisting of white memberships."

"THE PURPOSE of this new counterintelligence endeavor," the letter said, "is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type groups; their leadership, spokesmen, membership and supporters and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder."

Field agents were directed to think of ways in which such groups could be prevented from recruiting new members, discredited by leaks of harmful information to the news media or brought into conflict with one another.

In planning their campaigns, the field offices were told to keep in mind that "many individuals currently active in black nationalist organizations have backgrounds of immorality, subversive activity and criminal records. Through your investigation of key agitators, you should endeavor to establish their unsavory backgrounds."

This initial letter was followed by a "background" telegram stating that the program was being expanded to include 41 FBI field offices. It identified as primary targets "the radical and violence-prone leaders, members and followers" of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Revolutionary Action Movement and the Nation of Islam (Black Muslim movement).

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P11A, St. Louis
Globe-Democrat,
St. Louis, Mo.

Date: 4/6/76

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or 100-21213

Classification: (COINTELPRO

Submitting Office: SL

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-145

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SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 7 1976	
FBI — SAINT LOUIS	

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Harassment Of Klan, Blacks

WASHINGTON, April 15 (UPI)—The Federal Bureau of Investigation has made known that it sent phony hate letters to Ku Klux Klan members and leaked altered official documents to black nationalists in trying to disrupt radical political groups in the 1960s and early 1970s.

More than 200 pages of memoradums made public yesterday under the Freedom of Information Act spelled out details of part of the secret "Cointelpro" actions the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover waged against the groups from 1956 to 1971.

In addition to phony documents and letters, the FBI occasionally would resort to anonymous telephone calls according to a June 30, 1970, memo to Hoover from the Baltimore FBI office concerning the United Klans of America.

The memo said that the FBI had received information from an informer that a married Klan member had been clandestinely entertaining a woman friend in an apartment.

"Anonymous calls were made to the Klan member's mother-in-law and wife bringing this fact to their attention," the memo said. In listing "tangible results," the memo said the Klan member became "upset and suspicious of everyone."

Hoover was said to have proposed most of the strategies and demanded to know every detail before approving suggestions from the special agents in charge in various cities.

Hoover initiated disruptions of "black nationalist hate groups" on Aug. 25, 1967, the memos showed. He later said the disruptions were aimed at preventing the groups from forming a coalition, gaining membership strength or creating a "black messiah."

Memos to Hoover from Atlanta and other Southern bureaus often reported signs of turmoil in Klan organizations as the "tangible results" of a wide variety of hate mail tricks and other strategies.

But one tactic misfired. Agents planning to phone "embarrassing questions" to Clavin F. Craig, Georgia Klan "grand dragon," in his appearance on an Atlanta radio program, found all lines were kept busy by other callers.

The Atlanta FBI Bureau discovered that the Klan had urged its members to flood the station with telephoned questions favorable to the Klan.

The FBI documents disclosed for the first time Hoover's stated reason for halting Cointelpro operations.

"Although successful over the years," Hoover said in a memo dated April 27, 1971, "it is felt they should be discontinued for security reasons because of their sensitivity."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P20C, St. Louis
Post-Dispatch, St.
Louis, Mo.

Date: 4/15/76
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL
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100 - 21213-146

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 19 1976	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

NR028 WA CODE

9:18PM NITEL 4-26-76 DLS

TO ST. LOUIS (100-14259)

FROM DIRECTOR (100-449698-42-9)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT (NL - 37)

BUDED: MAY 3, 1976.

RESLAIRTEL OCTOBER 29, 1968, AND BULET NOVEMBER 15, 1968.

A SPECIAL REVIEW COMMITTEE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IS CONDUCTING A SURVEY OF A NUMBER OF OUR DISCONTINUED COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS). THE PURPOSE OF THE DEPARTMENTAL REVIEW IS TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER OR NOT CERTAIN TARGETS SHOULD BE NOTIFIED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE COINTELPRO ACTIONS WHICH WERE CONDUCTED AGAINST THEM. THE COMMITTEE, AS A RESULT OF A PRELIMINARY REVIEW OF VARIOUS ACTIONS IN THE COINTELPRO NOTIFICATION PROGRAM, HAS REQUESTED THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BE OBTAINED FROM YOUR OFFICE.

REFERENCED COMMUNICATIONS REFER TO THE FURNISHING OF PUBLIC SOURCE MATERIAL ON HERBERT MARCUSE TO CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE SO AS TO POSSIBLY HAVE MARCUSE'S LECTURES CANCELLED AT UNIVERSITIES. ABOVE COMMITTEE DESIRES TO KNOW WHAT TYPE OF INFORMATION WAS ACTUALLY FURNISHED AND IF COPIES OF THIS INFORMATION ARE AVAILABLE FOR REVIEW BY THIS COMMITTEE.

100-14259-147
100-14259 (DESTROYED)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 26 1976	
FBI - ST. LOUIS	
Hanken	

Let's discuss

PAGE TWO

ST. LOUIS SUTEL NOTING BUDED MAY 3, 1976.

USE ABOVE CAPTION, INCLUDING THE REFERENCE
NUMBER, WHEN RESPONDING TO THIS COMMUNICATION. INSURE
ALL CORRESPONDENCE IN CONNECTION WITH THIS MATTER IS
DESIGNATED FOR THE FIELD OFFICE FILE ON THE APPROPRIATE
COINTELPRO ONLY. YOU SHOULD LIMIT THE INQUIRIES TO
FILED OFFICE FILES AND NO ACTIVE INVESTIGATION SHOULD
BE CONDUCTED.

END

FBI SL RJF CLR

F B I

Date: 4/30/76

Transmit the following in CODED
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE NITEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR (100-449698-42-9)

FROM: ST. LOUIS (100-21213) C

COINTELPRO- NEW LEFT (NL-37)

RE BUREAU NITEL TO ST. LOUIS APRIL 26, 1976.

ST. LOUIS FILE 100-14259 TO WHICH REFERENCED NITEL DIRECTED HAS BEEN DESTROYED. ALL CORRESPONDENCE IN THIS MATTER RELATING TO FURNISHING PUBLIC SOURCE MATERIAL ON HERBERT MARCUSE TO CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IN CONNECTION WITH MARCUSE'S APPEARANCE AT UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI NOVEMBER, 1968 HANDLED UNDER CAPTION "COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT" (SL 100-21213). REVIEW OF ST. LOUIS COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT FILE REFLECTS THAT ON OCTOBER 28, 1968 INFORMATION RECEIVED THAT MARCUSE'S SPEECH SCHEDULED FOR NOVEMBER 6, 1968 AT UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI WAS CANCELLED AS MARCUSE HAD ANOTHER COMMITMENT. BUREAU AUTHORITY TO FURNISH IDENTITY OF PUBLIC SOURCE INFORMATION ON MARCUSE GRANTED NOVEMBER 15, 1968. FROM THE ABOVE IT IS EVIDENT THAT INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED FROM THE BUREAU TO RELEASE INFORMATION TO SOURCE SUBSEQUENT TO THE CANCELLATION OF MARCUSE'S APPEARANCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

1- St. Louis
SRH/cw
(1) *uw*

100-21213-148
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED *dlr*
INDEXED *all*
FILED *all*

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001151 Page 96

Approved: *ALF*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent *2:40 pm*

M

Per *res*

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
SL 100-21213 - PAGE TWO (Priority)

FURTHER REVIEW OF ST. LOUIS FILES DISCLOSED ONLY INFORMATION UNDER CONSIDERATION FOR DISSEMINATION TO SOURCE WAS PUBLIC SOURCE INFORMATION REFERRED TO IN REPORT OF SA ROBERT E. THORNTON DATED SEPTEMBER 30, 1968 AT SAN DIEGO CAPTIONED "HERBERT MARCUSE; SM-ANA". ST. LOUIS NOT IN POSSESSION OF THIS REPORT, ONLY COPY OF WHICH WAS RETURNED TO SAN DIEGO IN JANUARY, 1969.

REVIEW OF ST. LOUIS FILE ON THE CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE INVOLVED DID NOT INDICATE THAT INFORMATION HAD BEEN DISSEMINATED BY THE ST. LOUIS DIVISION TO THIS SOURCE RE MARCUSE. THIS SOURCE WAS LAST CONTACTED IN 1969.

END.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Tampering With News By FBI Reported

©1976, New York Times News Service

WASHINGTON, April 29—The Federal Bureau of Investigation repeatedly and covertly attempted to manipulate the news media in an effort to influence public opinion and discredit citizens and organizations that were its "targets," the Senate Intelligence Committee said yesterday.

The committee's report on domestic intelligence activities presented evidence of pervasive and frequently successful efforts by the FBI to use the news media to disparage such targets as the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and groups and individuals in what was described as the "New Left."

The report lists the following examples as ways the FBI sought to influence news reports:

—Through a "good friend" who was chairman of the board of a national magazine, the bureau had cancelled an unfavorable article about the bureau scheduled to appear in the magazine.

—FBI officials approached reporters, including one from Newsweek magazine, offering to play tape recordings "embarrassing" to Dr. King.

—A freelance writer was provided by the bureau with photographs depicting a radical group's apartment as "a shambles with lewd, obscene and revolutionary slogans displayed on the walls."

—The Washington bureau chief of a major news organization was reported to have received discrediting information about the attorney defending Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon papers case.

The FBI efforts to use the news media were generally part of the bureau's Cointelpro, or counterintelligence program, designed to "disrupt" the activities of persons or groups considered a threat to domestic security. But the effort indicates that the FBI sought also to use the news media to disseminate its own views on such issues as foreign policy and sexual morality.

The report said that the bureau's crime records division maintained "covert liaison" with the news media to advance two main domestic intelligence objectives: "(1) providing derogatory information to the media intended to generally discredit the activities or ideas of targeted groups of individuals; and (2) disseminating unfavorable articles, news releases and background information in order to disrupt particular activities."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P7, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 4/29/76

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

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☐ Being Investigated

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In the committee's hearings, a former director of the crimes records division testified that he had kept a list of the bureau's "press friends" in his desk. The witness, Thomas E. Bishop, said also that the FBI sometimes refused to co-operate with reporters critical of the bureau or its director.

Bishop said that, as a general rule, the bureau gave out only "public record information" but that this could cover almost everything in the files "on a targeted individual."

The following are some of the other examples cited in the report of attempted news media manipulation by the FBI:

—FBI headquarters asked its field offices to provide the press with specific data "depicting the scurrilous and depraved nature of many of the characters, activities, habits and living conditions representative of New Left adherents," urging that "every avenue of possible embarrassment must be vigorously and enthusiastically explored."

—The bureau ordered field offices to gather information that would disprove allegations by "the liberal press, and the forces of the bleeding hearts and the forces on the left" that Chicago police used undue force against demonstrators at the 1968 Democratic convention.

—The bureau placed in a newspaper an article by "a wealthy Negro industrialist" that purported "to give the lie to the Communist canard that the Negro is downtrodden and has no opportunities in America." The bureau aided also the publication of articles supporting the war in Vietnam.

As one of its recommendations, the committee urged that intelligence agencies be prohibited from disseminating information to the news media for political or other improper purposes, including discrediting opponents or critics.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Actions of area FBI field office cited by Senate committee

By EDWARD W. O'BRIEN
Globe-Democrat Washington Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON — The Senate Intelligence Committee, citing episodes reported by the FBI's St. Louis field office, accused the bureau of "unsavory and vicious" acts of harassment and disruption against groups and persons "deemed a threat to the social order."

"Many of the illegal or improper disruptive efforts directed against American citizens and domestic organizations succeeded in injuring their targets," the committee said.

"ALTHOUGH IT is sometimes difficult to prove that a target's misfortunes were caused by a counterintelligence program directed against him, the possibility that an arm of the United States government intended to cause the harm, and might have been responsible itself, is abhorrent."

The committee said the groups and individuals targeted by the FBI "did not

engage in unlawful activity." They were selected under the FBI's counterintelligence program, called COINTELPRO, "because of their political views and their lifestyles," the report said.

The committee said its investigators found numerous examples of harm from the FBI actions. "Several efforts against individuals and groups appear to have achieved their stated aims," the report said.

Most examples summarized in the committee report did not give names, although some names of targets had been disclosed in earlier public hearings. The examples were identified as to area through source citations.

Quoting from a June 19, 1970, memo from the FBI field office in St. Louis to Washington headquarters, the committee said:

"A BUREAU FIELD office reported that the anonymous letter it had sent to [redacted] husband accusing his wife of infidelity contributed very strongly

to the subsequent breakup of the marriage."

In another section of its report, the Senate committee, apparently referring to the same anonymous letter by the FBI as well as other such cases, said, "The image of an agent of the United States government scrawling a poison-pen letter . . . in language usually reserved for bathroom walls is not a happy one."

A Feb. 14, 1969, memo from the FBI St. Louis office to Washington headquarters was quoted as proposing the sending of an anonymous letter intended to "produce ill-feeling and possibly a lasting distrust" between a husband and wife, so that "concern over what to do about it" would distract the target from "time spent in the plots and plans" of a targeted organization.

The FBI memo described the woman as the wife of a "black nationalist," as faithful and as "an intelligent, respectable

young mother who is active in the A.M.E. Church."

IN ANOTHER chapter of its report, the committee said the FBI had succeeded in neutralizing a 1965-1966 congressional investigation into electronic eavesdropping by FBI agents against organized crime figures.

The investigation was headed by the

late Sen. Edward V. Long, D-Mo.

The report said Long had come under intense pressure from top Justice Department and FBI officials to keep away from FBI activities and avoid calling any FBI officials as witnesses.

At a meeting with an FBI official, the report said, Long "agreed to make a commitment that he would in no way

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P6A, St. Louis
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St. Louis, Mo.

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FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

embarrass the FBI."

Nonetheless, J. Edgar Hoover, the late FBI director, in 1966 ordered a sharp cutback in FBI sensitive intelligence gathering techniques. The report said Hoover was "particularly concerned" about the Long inquiry and the increased public opposition to privacy invasions.

Spying Power Abuse Since '30s Reported

Compiled From News Services

WASHINGTON, April 29 — The constitutional rights of countless Americans have been violated for the last four decades by an abuse of power by Federal agencies, the Senate Intelligence Committee reported yesterday.

In one of the most widespread investigations ever conducted by a branch of Congress, the committee in its 14-month inquiry found that virtually no element of society was immune from being spied on in one form or another.

The activity took place under Democratic and Republican Administrations—under every President from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Richard M. Nixon, and sometimes at their encouragement, it said.

The actions were aimed at white and black, rich and poor, conservative, liberal and radical.

They covered prominent leaders in politics, including members of Congress and Cabinet officers, as well as in the arts, sciences, the press and other fields.

Some of the objects of spying—if not further investigation—were the most obscure persons attending political meetings, seminars and sessions devoted to problems from Vietnam to race relations.

In the name of national security, the committee said, efforts were made—and in at least one case, apparently succeeded—to break up marriages of persons on Federal Bureau of Investigation "target lists" by anonymous accusations of infidelity.

The FBI field office at St. Louis bragged in a memorandum that an anonymous letter it had sent to a political activist's husband, accusing his wife of unfaithfulness, "contributed very strongly" to a subsequent marriage break-up.

Wire-tapping and bugging extended from the hotel room of a House member who, committee sources indicated, was a key figure in setting congressional sugar import quotas, to the hotel room of the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The White House received FBI "tidbits" on meetings held by former Illinois Democratic Senator Paul Douglas and the late Illinois Republican Senator Everett M. Dirksen with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Other intelligence agencies besides the FBI and the Army were involved in the national spying activity against Americans, the committee said. These included the Central Intelligence Agency, the Internal Revenue Service and the National Security Agency.

Many of their activities have already

been detailed by the Senate panel. Others have not been detailed.

But what is documented, the committee charged, is that the letters of nearly 250,000 United States citizens were opened and photographed by the Central

Intelligence Agency between 1953 and 1973, an additional 100,000 by the FBI between 1940 and 1966, while "millions" of private telegrams were obtained by the National Security Agency through a

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pl-8, St. Louis
Post-Dispatch,
St. Louis, Mo.

Date: 4/29/76
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100-21213-151

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FBI checked NACCP for 25 years.
Page 5A

FBI TAMPERING with news
reported. Page 7A

96 PROPOSALS for curbing intelligence activities. Page 9A

PARTIAL TEXT of Senate Committee report on Page 3E.

secret agreement with three U.S. telegraph companies.

In addition, about 300,000 persons were indexed in a computer system by the CIA, with separate files on an additional 7200 Americans and more than 100 domestic groups, while Army intelligence kept dossiers on 100,000 persons from the mid-1960s to 1971.

The Internal Revenue Service catalogued 11,000 persons and organizations between 1969 and 1973 and "tax investigations were started on the basis of political rather than tax criteria," the committee declared.

The Rev. Dr. King was the object of what the FBI said was a "no holds barred" policy to attempt to destroy him as a national black leader, the committee noted. His August 1963 "I Have A Dream" speech was tabbed "demagogic" by the FBI and he was labeled "the most dangerous and effective Negro leader in the country."

And when an adviser to the Rev. Dr. King was investigated for Communist "sympathies" and was cleared by the FBI office at New York, the FBI headquarters in Washington rejected the conclusion, urging instead a theory upon the New York subordinates of "guilty until proven innocent," the committee disclosed.

For 1976, the FBI has budgeted \$7,000,000 for domestic security informers, more than twice the amount it spends for organized crime informers, the committee pointed out.

"Too many people have been spied on by too many Government agencies and too much information has been collected," the committee declared in its 356-page report, a sequel to the 651-page volume on illegal CIA foreign operations issued Monday.

The Government has often undertaken the secret surveillance of citizens on the basis of their political beliefs, even when those beliefs posed no threat of violence or illegal acts on behalf of a hostile power.

"Unsavory and vicious tactics have been employed . . . Intelligence agencies have served the political and personal objectives of Presidents and other high officials," the committee said.

The agencies committed excesses, then hid them from officials "whom they had a duty to inform," the committee said.

The panel blamed Congress, too, because "it often declined to exercise meaningful oversight" and more than once "passed laws or made statements" that were interpreted as "supporting overly broad investigations."

Other major findings by the committee included:

—That a lack of precise standards for the conduct of intelligence investigations led the FBI over the last 20 years to conduct nearly 1,000,000 investigations of "subversive" or "extremist" matters. Half of these resulted in the establishment of a permanent FBI file, although no prosecutions have been brought since 1957 under the subversion statutes.

—That the "overly broad" objectives of the domestic intelligence community have been achieved through such "intrusive techniques" as mail opening, burglary, sophisticated electronic surveillance and the use of informers, and that legal limitations on their use have been nonexistent, inadequate or, where they did exist, ignored by law enforcement officials.

—That covert-action programs, like the FBI's Cointelpro, have interfered with constitutional freedoms of political association, disrupted groups that were "concededly nonviolent," risked or caused "serious emotional, economic or physical damage" to those who were unwitting targets of the bureau, and, as employed against the Rev. Dr. King, violated both "the law and fundamental human decency."

The report is bound to become the center of a storm now brewing in the Senate over attempts to form a single permanent committee to oversee the intelligence agencies.

The first signs of controversy arose yesterday, as several members of the committee, led by Senator Walter F. Mondale (Dem.), Minnesota, promised a vigorous effort to set up such a unit.

But the Senate Rules Committee approved a bill to establish a regulatory committee with far less power than originally proposed by the backers of a single unit.

The Rules Committee approved, 5 to 4, a substitute offer by Senator Howard W. Cannon (Dem.), Nevada, which would grant a committee authority to investigate and review Government intelligence efforts, but withhold authority to write legislation.

The authority to write legislation is deemed vital by Mondale and other members of the intelligence panel headed by Senator Frank Church (Dem.), Idaho.

They promised a major fight in the Senate May 10 to restore strong proposals defeated in the Senate Rules Committee.

Currently, intelligence operations supervision is the province of several different committees, including Foreign Relations, Armed Services and Appropriations, all headed by Senators with considerable seniority.

The Senate Intelligence committee's report was not signed by Senator John G. Tower (Dem.), Texas, vice chairman, or Senator Barry M. Goldwater (Rep.), Arizona. Both refused also to sign the panel's earlier CIA report.

Tower acknowledged that the committee had "documented flagrant abuses," but said he could not accept the report for various reasons, including what he called "corrective actions" based "almost exclusively on prohibitions or limitations of agency practices."

Goldwater called the study "free-wheeling," "self righteous" and "moralizing," adding that its "strong dose of 20-20 hindsight" will "raise more questions than it answers."

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5:26 PM NITEL 5/7/76 SLR

TO ST. LOUIS (100-21213)

FROM DIRECTOR (100-449698)

COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT (NL-183); BUDED: MAY 12, 1976.

REURLET JANUARY 19, 1970, AND BULET JANUARY 30, 1970.

A SPECIAL REVIEW COMMITTEE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IS CONDUCTING A SURVEY OF A NUMBER OF OUR DISCONTINUED COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS). THE PURPOSE OF THE DEPARTMENTAL REVIEW IS TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER OR NOT CERTAIN TARGETS SHOULD BE NOTIFIED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE COINTELPRO ACTIONS WHICH WERE CONDUCTED AGAINST THEM. THE COMMITTEE, AS A RESULT OF A PRELIMINARY REVIEW OF THE VARIOUS ACTIONS IN THE COINTELPRO NOTIFICATION PROGRAM, HAS REQUESTED THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BE OBTAINED FROM YOUR OFFICE.

BY COB MAY 12, 1976, SUBMIT TO FBIHQ COPY OF LETTER SENT TO BEN ISREAL MENTIONED IN REFERENCED LETTERS.

USE THE ABOVE CAPTION, INCLUDING THE REFERENCE NUMBER, WHEN RESPONDING TO THIS COMMUNICATION. INSURE ALL CORRESPONDENCE IN CONNECTION WITH THIS MATTER IS DESIGNATED FOR THE

100-21213-152

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MAY 7 1976	
FBI - ST. LOUIS	

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PAGE TWO

FIELD OFFICE FILE ON THE APPROPRIATE COINTELPRO ONLY. YOU
SHOULD LIMIT THE INQUIRIES TO FIELD OFFICE FILES AND NO ACTIVE
INVESTIGATION SHOULD BE CONDUCTED.

END

FBI SL PCS

5/12/76

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)
FROM: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) RUC
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT (NL-183)

Re Bureau nitel, 5/7/76.

Attached hereto is a Xerox copy of a letter sent to BEN ISRAEL, January, 1970. This letter is handwritten on both sides of a single sheet of paper.

2- Bureau (Enc. 1)
1- St. Louis

VRH:jtc
(3) *jtc*

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

I seek to 'dispel thought

FBI can't be trusted,

Kelley says

By Globe-Democrat
News Services

NASHVILLE, TENN. — It is "my great desire to dispel any thought that the FBI can't be trusted," FBI director Clarence M. Kelley said Monday.

Kelley made the comment in the wake of his public apology in a weekend speech for past actions by the bureau.

"IT'S A GROUP OF very dedicated people who want to be doing the best job they can," Kelley said of the FBI.

He said he expected Congress to be more involved in supervising FBI activities and said the bureau will work with a congressional oversight committee reviewing all U.S. intelligence agencies. Meanwhile, a special Senate Intelli-

gence Committee report Monday said that the FBI still conducts break-ins against intelligence targets without getting court orders.

The Senate investigators said such surreptitious entries are conducted mainly to plant hidden microphones and other recording devices, but occasionally the missions have turned into raids for other information as well.

The FBI assured the committee that in recent years, at least, the opportunity to expand the entries into multipurpose burglaries has been exploited only against foreign agents.

THE REPORT SAID that according to an FBI memorandum supplied to the

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P6A, St. Louis
Globe-Democrat,
St. Louis, Missouri

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committee last fall, in the course of installing electronic bugs, "There have been occasions when observations and recordings were made of pertinent information contained within the premises."

The Senate committee report said that special teams of FBI agents have carried out more than 1,000 surreptitious entries without judicial warrants since World War II, "despite the questionable legality of the technique and its deep intrusion into the privacy of targeted individuals."

More than 200 of these were so-called "black bag jobs" — burglaries conceived and conducted not for the sake of planting a bug but for other purposes such as "physical search and photo-

graphing or seizing documents," according to the report.

Such entries included a long series of break-ins, perhaps as many as 92 of them between 1960 and 1966, against the Socialist Workers Party and affiliates, such as the Young Socialist Alliance, the report said.

Kelley declined to comment on the dismissal last Wednesday of Jacques Srouji, a copy editor, by the Tennessean, Nashville's morning newspaper, because of what the paper's publisher said were her "past and recent conversations" with the FBI.

Kelley, acknowledging that some FBI counterintelligence activities violated the law, said in a speech in Fulton, Mo., Saturday, "Some of those activities were

clearly wrong and quite indefensible. We most certainly must never allow them to be repeated."

KELLEY'S SPEECH included his first criticism of J. Edgar Hoover, the longtime FBI director who died in 1972. The abuses, Kelley said, occurred "chiefly during the twilight of Mr. Hoover's administration."

Kelley said many of the misdeeds were "good-faith efforts to prevent bloodshed and wanton destruction of property" during protests and disorders in the 1960s. "Nevertheless, they were wrongful uses of power," he added.

Meanwhile, Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, said in Omaha that the Central Intelligence Agency and the FBI "failed to make a full and complete disclosure

to the Warren commission of information they had concerning the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Church, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, said, "There will probably be an outcry to reopen the investigation" into Kennedy's death when his committee makes its report public later this spring or in early summer.

CHURCH SAID his committee uncovered information "that details the extent to which those agencies did, or failed to, turn over facts about the 1963 assassination."

Asked if he would join in what he predicted would be demands to reopen the investigation, Church said, "I'll talk about that after the report is out."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Problems confronting intelligence panel

By WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.



WITHOUT GOING INTO the detail of the proposed new law governing the activities of our intelligence agencies, it is reasonable to say that it is designed to bring under representative scrutiny a) what our intelligence agencies are doing, and b) how much money they are spending.

It is critical to ask whether that scrutiny is to be exercised by committee of legislators who can be counted upon to prefer the public safety to the satisfaction of their own political vanity, but that gets you into problems. How do you say in constitutional language: We are going to set up an oversight committee which will exclude Michael Harrington of Massachusetts? The dear old Constitution prohibits bills of attainder, so you have to come up with legal ways of describing Michael Harrington, and that is a tough one.

Then, as a practical matter, you need to ask whether that oversight committee is going to stop, automatically, drastic covert actions of the kind that tend to win popular favor, and professional criticism.

★ ★ ★
THE DISTINCTION is best drawn from the work of our novelists. I have drawn attention before to "The Day of the Jackal." Here the protagonist is a hired killer, and his assignment is to execute Charles de Gaulle. The suspense is very great, and the huge best-seller owes that success to the narrowness of de Gaulle's escape. But do you know how the French intelligence people managed to save his life? Well, to begin with they kidnapped somebody from Rome. Getting him to Marseilles, they tortured him, and got from him a couple of words — a clue. Oh yes, he died from the torture.

Then the chief of police (of police, mind you), without any authority from anybody, undertook to tap the telephones not of Joe Kraft, but of every member of the French cabinet. And lo, one of these telephones yielded a yummy conversation between the minister of something and his mistress, who when the minister was snoring, got up and telephoned her contact within the resistance group that had hired the assassin.

All it took, in other words, to protect the life of the President of France was one (1) kidnapping, (1) torture, (1) death, and eleven (11) tapped telephones of the French cabinet. The reading public loved it, and Senator Frank Church or Teddy Kennedy have never held up the book as a reason to deny aid to France.

★ ★ ★

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pl4A, St. Louis
Globe-Democrat,
St. Louis, Mo.

Date: 5/27/76

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Editor:

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FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

JOHN EHRLICHMAN, former aide to Richard Nixon, has written a novel in which President Kennedy orders, at the last minute, the assassination of a priest traveling with the invading army to the Bay of Pigs. The idea is that Kennedy discovered that the Russians would counter our invasion of Cuba and come back at us with nuclear ferocity. On the other hand, the invasion was already launched, and could not be aborted.

The President hit on the idea of destroying the spiritual force behind the military mission: the equivalent of slipping Joan of Arc a mickey finn just before she took on the British. It is not projected that the admirers of President Kennedy will cavil at the action he (allegedly) took, under such circumstances.

The new oversight committee is on the one hand desirable — we DO need protection against capricious use of intelligence capabilities; on the other hand, it is a schematic example of efforts by lawyers and jig-saw makers to pin down with exactitude the rules by which we govern ourselves in a spontaneous world substantially dominated by tyrants. If we go down, they are saying, it will be with punctilio.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Kelley Reduces List Subject To Investigation By The FBI

Compiled From News Services

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11 — Clarence M. Kelley, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, said today he had cut the number of persons subject to domestic intelligence investigations to 4000 from 22,000 since reports of illegal entries, harassment and other abuses were disclosed.

Kelley told a press conference that the FBI's past abuses, which may lead to criminal prosecution of some agents, resulted from an "arrogant belief at high levels in the infallibility and appropriateness of all FBI activities . . ."

"these human failings developed over many years and they were permitted to develop by Congress, the news media and others, including ourselves, through indifference or through unquestioning belief in a perfect image," Kelley said.

Even today, he said, he could not make a blanket statement that FBI agents are not conducting illegal burglaries or engaging in other wrongdoing. He said that many bureau employees as concerned they will be indicted or disciplined.

Kelley said the FBI has no jurisdiction to investigate last weekend's murder of John Roselli, the underworld

figure who testified he made several attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro the Central Intelligence Agency.

Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. (Dem.), Tennessee, said Monday he would ask Kelley and CIA Director George H. Bush to investigate the slaying. Baker is a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee.

Kelley said all FBI practices and policies are being questioned and that domestic intelligence, once the province of a special section, has now been placed under the general investigative section.

This was done, he said, "for the express purpose that they be managed like all other criminal cases in that division."

The FBI's troubles have involved the COINTELPRO program of harassing radical groups that were not charged with any crimes, making illegal entries, and possible internal corruption involving purchases of electronics equipment from the U.S. Recording Co.

Kelley said he had been criticized for not making immediate and dramatic changes in the FBI. He said he had deliberately moved cautiously "to avoid destroying the effectiveness and dedication of the men and women of this fine organization."

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city and state.)

Pg. 11A

ST. LOUIS
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MO.

Date: 8/11/76
Edition: *** Final
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Editor:
Title: COINTELPRO

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Classification: SL 100-21213

Submitting Office: St. Louis

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FBI - SAINT LOUIS

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FM DIRECTOR (100-449698)

TO ST. LOUIS (100-21213) ROUTINE

BT

E F T O

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT (NL-183) BUDED: NOVEMBER 12, 1976

RESLLET TO BUREAU JANUARY 19, 1970, AND BULET TO
ST. LOUIS JANUARY 30, 1970.

A SPECIAL REVIEW COMMITTEE (SRC) OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
JUSTICE IS CONDUCTING A SURVEY OF A NUMBER OF OUR DISCONTINUED
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS AND HAS MADE A DETERMINATION THAT
CERTAIN TARGETS SHOULD BE NOTIFIED. THE ACTUAL NOTIFICATION
WILL BE EFFECTED BY THE DEPARTMENT AND NO BUREAU PERSONNEL
WILL BE INVOLVED. HOWEVER, THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS TO
BE OBTAINED BY YOUR OFFICE TO ASSIST THE DEPARTMENT IN THEIR
NOTIFICATION OF THE RESPECTIVE TARGETS:

1. WILL NOTIFICATION DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF AN INFOR-

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FBI-ST. LOUIS	

PAGE TWO (100-449698) E F T O

MAINT OR COMPROMISE SENSITIVE SOURCES OR METHODS?

2. ANY CURRENT OR PENDING LITIGATION REGARDING TARGET IN WHICH THE FBI OR DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IS AN INTERESTED PARTY.

3. A CHECK OF FIELD OFFICE INDICES, APPROPRIATE TELEPHONE AND STREET DIRECTORIES TO ASCERTAIN LAST KNOWN ADDRESS OF THE TARGET ONLY. NO ADDITIONAL ATTEMPT IS TO BE MADE TO OBTAIN ADDRESS FOR THE TARGET OR TARGETS, AND UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD ANY INVESTIGATIVE ACTION BE INSTITUTED. YOUR OFFICE SHOULD ALSO FURNISH ANY OTHER INFORMATION IN YOUR FILES WHICH WOULD MITIGATE AGAINST NOTIFICATION.

REFERENCED COMMUNICATIONS REFER TO THE MAILING OF A LETTER TO BENJAMIN ISRAEL WHICH WOULD INDICATE THAT THE LETTER WAS FROM A LOCAL BLACK ACTIVIST GROUP AND WOULD WARN ISRAEL TO KEEP HIS MOUTH SHUT. SRC WOULD NOTIFY ISRAEL.

UTILIZE THE ABOVE CAPTION, INCLUDING THE REFERENCE NUMBER, WHEN RESPONDING TO THIS COMMUNICATION. INSURE ALL CORRESPONDENCE IN CONNECTION WITH THIS MATTER IS DESIGNATED FOR THE FIELD OFFICE FILE ON THE APPROPRIATE COINTELPRO ONLY.

BT

F B I

Date: 11/11/76

E F T O

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

ROUTINE

(Precedence)

FM ST. LOUIS (100-21213) C

TO DIRECTOR (100-449698) ROUTINE

BT

E F T O

COINTELPRO-NEW LEFT (NL-183). BUDED: NOVEMBER 12, 1976.

REBUTEL TO ST. LOUIS, NOVEMBER 8, 1976.

1. IT IS NOT KNOWN WHETHER OR NOT ANY SENSITIVE SOURCE OR METHOD WILL BE COMPROMISED BY THIS DISCLOSURE.
2. ST. LOUIS UNAWARE OF ANY PENDING LITIGATION REGARDING TARGET.
3. BENJAMIN ISRAEL WAS LAST KNOWN TO BE RESIDING WITH PARENTS AT 921 SHANDEL, ST. LOUIS COUNTY, MISSOURI.
4. ISRAEL FORMERLY ENTERED IN STOP INDEX (BUREAU FILE: 100-446997) AS WEATHERMAN MEMBER AND WAS SUBJECT OF TWO HITS ON JUNE 26, 1973 AND JANUARY 15, 1974, IN MISSOURI.

BT

1-St. Louis
JAF:kmf
(1) *kmf*

100-21213-158

SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED RM
INDEXED _____
FILED RM

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

1820

M

Per

ey

NW 15289 DocId: 70001151 Page 115

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Here Sought Teacher's Firing

By ROBERT ADAMS
A Washington Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, April 6 — The Federal Bureau of Investigation office in St. Louis in 1969 proposed sending an anonymous letter aimed at getting a Spanish teacher here dismissed because of his radical political beliefs, FBI documents made public today show.

The St. Louis and Washington offices of the FBI refused to comment.

The documents were made public by the Political Rights Defense Fund, a group representing the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and its youth affiliate, the Young Socialists Alliance. The two groups have filed a \$27,000,000 damage suit against the FBI for alleged harassment. The documents were obtained as part of the court proceedings.

The papers were part of the FBI's file on its "Cointelpro," or counter-intelligence program. It was designed to disrupt a wide variety of groups that the FBI considered dangerous, including civil rights and anti-war groups.

In a memorandum dated March 10, 1969, according to the papers made public today, the St. Louis FBI office proposed to FBI headquarters that an anonymous letter be sent to the St. Louis high school where the Spanish teacher worked.

The memo noted that the teacher, whose name was deleted by the defense fund, had attended Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists Alliance meetings in St. Louis. It said the teacher "is worried that his YSA activities would come to the attention of the high school's administration."

The St. Louis office proposed sending the letter under the guise that it was from concerned parents. It was to be sent on "a common grade of stationery" to avoid being traced to the FBI.

proposed letter was sent along with the memo. It suggested that the teacher be dismissed.

Under "Anticipated Results," the St. Louis office told FBI headquarters that the disclosure of the teacher's activities to his superiors "would at the least cause him embarrassment" and could result in dismissal.

On March 28, however, FBI headquarters made a countersuggestion. It suggested that if "an established reliable source at the Department of Education" was available, the information should be given to him.

This method, the memo from headquarters said, "would be more effective and could result in the teacher's dismissal from the school system."

It could not be immediately learned whether the action was carried out or whether the Spanish teacher was dismissed.

In a memo dated March 31, 1969, the St. Louis FBI office listed certain "tangible results" of its Cointelpro activities. One was that then state Representative Richard M. Marshall, a Republican from Webster Groves, "has several bills pend-

ing" in the Missouri House to control radical activities on college campuses.

Another item under "tangible results" was: "Numerous anti-new-left editorials have appeared in SL (St. Louis) newspapers which in part can be traced to information provided since the inception of this program with Bureau authority to news media contacts in SL."

At another point, the memo referred to Marshall as a "potential confidential source." It noted that FBI headquarters had approved giving Marshall copies of leaflets distributed at Washington University in a disturbance there.

Reached last night, Marshall said he had not known that the FBI considered him a "potential confidential source" or had taken credit for prompting his bills.

But Marshall said he had been in touch with a friend in the FBI in that period. When he heard about a potentially violent demonstration, Marshall said, he would tell the FBI or other authorities.

"It doesn't shock me," Marshall said of the FBI references.

Marshall said, however, that his bills to curb leftist groups were introduced of his own, without FBI prompting.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P4, St. Louis Post
Dispatch, St. Louis,
Missouri

Date: 4/6/77
Edition:
Author:
Editor:
Title:

~~100-21213~~
100-20896

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: SL
☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-159
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

APR 7 1977

FBI-ST. LOUIS

DIRECTOR, FBI
(ATTN: SA CIRENE, FOIA/PA SECTION)

4/1/77

SAC, ST. LOUIS (190-1)

FOIA/PA MATTERS

Enclosed for the Bureau under separate cover
are ten volumes encompassing the total St. Louis files
on COINTELPRO CPUSA, COINTELPRO Black Extremist, and
COINTELPRO New Left.

- 3- Bureau
 - (1 - via package) (Encs. 10)
- ④- St. Louis
 - (1- 190-1)
 - (1- 100-16708) (COINTELPRO CPUSA)
 - (1- 157-5818) (COINTELPRO Black Extremist)
 - ①- 100-21213) (COINTELPRO New Left)

JAF:jtc
(7)

File Stripped

4-12-77
me

100-21213-160

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
FILED
me

TO: SAC:

☐ Albany	☐ Houston	☐ Oklahoma City
☐ Albuquerque	☐ Indianapolis	☐ Omaha
☐ Alexandria	☐ Jackson	☐ Philadelphia
☐ Anchorage	☐ Jacksonville	☐ Phoenix
☐ Atlanta	☐ Kansas City	☐ Pittsburgh
☐ Baltimore	☐ Knoxville	☐ Portland
☐ Birmingham	☐ Las Vegas	☐ Richmond
☐ Boston	☐ Little Rock	☐ Sacramento
☐ Buffalo	☐ Los Angeles	☒ St. Louis
☐ Butte	☐ Louisville	☐ Salt Lake City
☐ Charlotte	☐ Memphis	☐ San Antonio
☐ Chicago	☐ Miami	☐ San Diego
☐ Cincinnati	☐ Milwaukee	☐ San Francisco
☐ Cleveland	☐ Minneapolis	☐ San Juan
☐ Columbia	☐ Mobile	☐ Savannah
☐ Dallas	☐ Newark	☐ Seattle
☐ Denver	☐ New Haven	☐ Springfield
☐ Detroit	☐ New Orleans	☐ Tampa
☐ El Paso	☐ New York City	☐ Washington Field
☐ Honolulu	☐ Norfolk	☐ Quantico

TO LEGAT:

☐ Bern
☐ Bonn
☐ Brasilia
☐ Buenos Aires
☐ Caracas
☐ Hong Kong
☐ London
☐ Madrid
☐ Manila
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☐ Paris
☐ Rome
☐ Tokyo

☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City (*Min)

APR 11 1977

(Date)

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

100-21213*

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
at _____.2. Re ST LOUIS teletype/airtel/letter dated 11-6-68
(office)
at ST LOUIS.3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
(office)
at _____.4. Other Don/jte
100-21213-161

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

a. Declassified 4-8-77b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.

c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____

d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.

Bufile

Urfile

FBIHQ Division and Section

FBI/DOJ

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Here Sought Teacher's Firing

By ROBERT ADAMS
A Washington Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, April 6 — The Federal Bureau of Investigation office in St. Louis in 1969 proposed sending an anonymous letter aimed at getting a Spanish teacher here dismissed because of his radical political beliefs, FBI documents made public today show.

The St. Louis and Washington offices of the FBI refused to comment.

The documents were made public by the Political Rights Defense Fund, a group representing the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and its youth affiliate, the Young Socialists Alliance. The two groups have filed a \$27,000,000 damage suit against the FBI for alleged harassment. The documents were obtained as part of the court proceedings.

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The memo noted that the teacher, whose name was deleted by the defense fund, had attended Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists Alliance meetings in St. Louis. It said the teacher "is worried that his YSA activities would come to the attention of the high school's administration."

The St. Louis office proposed sending the letter under the guise that it was from concerned parents. It was to be sent on "a common grade of stationery" to avoid being traced to the FBI. A

proposed letter was sent along with the memo. It suggested that the teacher be dismissed.

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"It doesn't shock me," Marshall said of the FBI references.

Marshall said, however, that his bills to curb leftist groups were introduced on his own, without FBI prompting.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

4A ST. LOUIS
POST-DISPATCH

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Date: 4/6/77
Edition: *** Final
Author:
Editor:
Title: COINTELPRO

Character:

or

Classification: SL 100-21213
Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-162
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED *Archer*

Ind. Bureau 4-7-77

FBI tried to get teacher fired, letter shows

A former teacher at Wentzville High School was the target of the St. Louis office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation which tried to have him fired because of his radical political beliefs, according to FBI documents made public Wednesday.

Neither the St. Louis nor the Washington offices of the FBI would comment on the documents, copies of which were obtained by The Globe-Democrat.

THE DOCUMENTS were made public by the Political Rights Defense Fund, a

group representing the socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialists Alliance.

The groups have filed a \$27 million damage suit against the FBI for alleged harassment. The documents were obtained as part of the court proceedings.

The documents show the St. Louis FBI office proposed in 1969 that an anonymous letter be sent to Wentzville High School seeking the dismissal of a Spanish teacher.

It could not be learned if the action was carried out or if the teacher was actually dismissed.

THE TEACHER was identified in the documents as James T. Hamilton, formerly residing at 5560 Delmar Bl. Sources inside the local Socialist Workers Party said Hamilton no longer works for Wentzville High School.

Attempts to contact Hamilton were unsuccessful.

In a memorandum sent from St. Louis to Washington on March 10, 1969, the St. Louis office proposed that a letter (supposedly from concerned parents of students) be sent to the high school outlining Hamilton's allegedly radical activities.

The proposed FBI-written letter stated in part:

"As parents of students of your school, we have learned that a teacher at the Wentzville School, Mr. Hamilton, was

making statements which indicated he might be a Communist.

"WE ALSO learned that Mr. Hamilton is a member of the draft resistance, the peace center, 6244 Delmar, St. Louis, Mo., and the Young Socialist Alliance. Mr. Hamilton reportedly is attempting to organize young people to revolt against the United States government . . . To say we object to Mr. Hamilton's teaching in the public school system is an understatement."

The papers were part of the FBI's file on its "Cointelpro" or counterintelligence program against New Left groups.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

13A ST. LOUIS
GLOBE-DEMOCRAT

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Date: 4/7/77
Edition: Daily-Final
Author:
Editor:
Title: COINTELPRO

Character:

or

Classification: SL 100-21213

Submitting Office: St. Louis

☐ Being Investigated

100-21213-163
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED *Amber*

FBI Bureau 4-7-77

TO: SAC:

☐ Albany
☐ Albuquerque
☐ Alexandria
☐ Anchorage
☐ Atlanta
☐ Baltimore
☐ Birmingham
☐ Boston
☐ Buffalo
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☐ San Antonio
☐ San Diego
☐ San Francisco
☐ San Juan
☐ Savannah
☐ Seattle
☐ Springfield
☐ Tampa
☐ Washington Field
☐ Quantico

TO LEGAT:

☐ Bern
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☐ Brasilia
☐ Buenos Aires
☐ Caracas
☐ Hong Kong
☐ London
☐ Madrid
☐ Manila
☐ Mexico City
☐ Ottawa
☐ Paris
☐ Rome
☐ Tokyo

☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City (*Mini*) **APR 12 1977**

(Date)

RE: *COINTEL PRO - NEW LEFT*

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
 at _____.

2. Re *ST LOUIS* teletype/airtel/letter dated *10-10-68*
 (office)
 at *ST LOUIS*.

3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
 (office)
 at _____.

4. Other _____

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

a. Declassified *4-8-77*

b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date-of-automatic
 declassification _____.

c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____

d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____

by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____.

Bufile

Urfile

4 *WDRH*
 FBIHQ Division and Section

FBI/DOJ

TO: SAC:

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☐ Albuquerque
☐ Alexandria
☐ Anchorage
☐ Atlanta
☐ Baltimore
☐ Birmingham
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TO LEGAT:

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☐ Mexico City
☐ Ottawa
☐ Paris
☐ Rome
☐ Tokyo

☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City ("Mini")

APR 12 1977

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

(Date)

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
at _____.
2. Re ST LOUIS (office) teletype/airtel/letter dated 10/10/68
at ST LOUIS.
3. Re enclosure to _____ (office) airtel/letter dated _____
at _____.
4. Other Done/jk

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified 4-8-77
- b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.

SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED _____
INDEXED _____
FILED _____

MAY 3 1977

FBI-ST. LOUIS

Bufile
Urfile

FBIHQ Division and Section

FBI/DOJ

TO: SAC:

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☐ Atlanta
☐ Baltimore
☐ Birmingham
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☐ Mexico City
☐ Ottawa
☐ Paris
☐ Rome
☐ Tokyo

☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City ("Mini")

APR 12 1977

RE: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM

(Date)

15-

DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
 at _____

2. Re ST LOUIS teletype/airtel/letter dated 7-2-68
 (office)
 at ST LOUIS

3. Re enclosure to ST LOUIS airtel/letter dated 7-2-68
 (office)
 at ST LOUIS

4. Other _____

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

a. Declassified 4-8-77

b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____

c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____

d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____

by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____

Bufile

Urfile

FBIHQ Division and Section

FBI/DOJ

TO: SAC:

☐ Albany
☐ Albuquerque
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☐ Anchorage
☐ Atlanta
☐ Baltimore
☐ Birmingham
☐ Boston
☐ Buffalo
☐ Butte
☐ Charlotte
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TO LEGAT:

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☐ Manila
☐ Mexico City
☐ Ottawa
☐ Paris
☐ Rome
☐ Tokyo

☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City ("Mini")

APR 12 1977

RE: *NEW LEFT ACTIVITY*
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS MISSOURI

(Date)

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
 at _____.

2. Re *ST LOUIS* (office) teletype/airtel/letter dated *JULY 2, 1968*
 at *ST LOUIS*.

3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated *100-21213767*
 (office) at _____.

4. Other _____

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

a. Declassified *4-8-77*

b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____.

c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____

d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____

by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____.

Bufile
 Urfile

4 *ADCRU*
 FBIHQ Division and Section

FBI/DOJ

TO: SAC:

☐ Albany
☐ Albuquerque
☐ Alexandria
☐ Anchorage
☐ Atlanta
☐ Baltimore
☐ Birmingham
☐ Boston
☐ Buffalo
☐ Butte
☐ Charlotte
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☐ Columbia
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☐ Ottawa
☐ Paris
☐ Rome
☐ Tokyo

APR 12 1977

☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City ("Mini")

RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (Date)

IS
 DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

100-21213*

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
 at _____

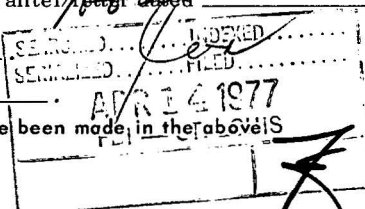
2. Re ST LOUIS teletype/airtel/letter dated 6-13-68
 (office)
 at ST LOUIS

3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated 2/21/3-168
 (office)
 at _____

4. Other _____

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified 4-8-77
- b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____



Bufile
 Urfile

TO: SAC:

☐ Albany
☐ Albuquerque
☐ Alexandria
☐ Anchorage
☐ Atlanta
☐ Baltimore
☐ Birmingham
☐ Boston
☐ Buffalo
☐ Butte
☐ Charlotte
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☐ Cincinnati
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☐ El Paso
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☐ Los Angeles
☐ Louisville
☐ Memphis
☐ Miami
☐ Milwaukee
☐ Minneapolis
☐ Mobile
☐ Newark
☐ New Haven
☐ New Orleans
☐ New York City
☐ Norfolk

☐ Oklahoma City
☐ Omaha
☐ Philadelphia
☐ Phoenix
☐ Pittsburgh
☐ Portland
☐ Richmond
☐ Sacramento
☒ St. Louis
☐ Salt Lake City
☐ San Antonio
☐ San Diego
☐ San Francisco
☐ San Juan
☐ Savannah
☐ Seattle
☐ Springfield
☐ Tampa
☐ Washington Field
☐ Quantico

TO LEGAT:

☐ Bern
☐ Bonn
☐ Brasilia
☐ Buenos Aires
☐ Caracas
☐ Hong Kong
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☐ Madrid
☐ Manila
☐ Mexico City
☐ Ottawa
☐ Paris
☐ Rome
☐ Tokyo

☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City ("Mini") **APR 12 1977**

(Date)

RE: *COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT*

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
 at _____.

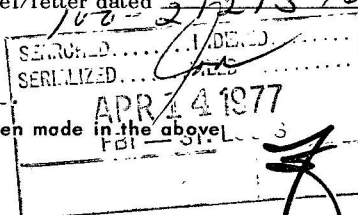
2. Re *ST LOUIS* ~~teletype/airtel~~ letter dated *1-8-69*
 (office)
 at *ST LOUIS*.

3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated *2/21/69*
 (office)
 at _____.

4. Other *Don't* _____

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified *4-8-77*
- b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____.
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____.



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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI tried to get teacher fired, letter shows

A former teacher at Wentzville High School was the target of the St. Louis office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation which tried to have him fired because of his radical political beliefs, according to FBI documents made public Wednesday.

Neither the St. Louis nor the Washington offices of the FBI would comment on the documents, copies of which were obtained by The Globe-Democrat.

THE DOCUMENTS were made public by the Political Rights Defense Fund, a

group representing the socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialists Alliance.

The groups have filed a \$27 million damage suit against the FBI for alleged harassment. The documents were obtained as part of the court proceedings.

The documents show the St. Louis FBI office proposed in 1969 that an anonymous letter be sent to Wentzville High School seeking the dismissal of a Spanish teacher.

It could not be learned if the action was carried out or if the teacher was actually dismissed.

THE TEACHER was identified in the documents as James T. Hamilton, formerly residing at 5560 Delmar Bl. Sources inside the local Socialist Workers Party said Hamilton no longer works for Wentzville High School.

Attempts to contact Hamilton were unsuccessful.

In a memorandum sent from St. Louis to Washington on March 10, 1969, the St. Louis office proposed that a letter (supposedly from concerned parents of students) be sent to the high school outlining Hamilton's allegedly radical activities.

The proposed FBI-written letter stated in part:

"As parents of students of your school, we have learned that a teacher at the Wentzville School, Mr. Hamilton, was

making statements which indicated he might be a Communist.

"WE ALSO learned that Mr. Hamilton is a member of the draft resistance, the peace center, 6244 Delmar, St. Louis, Mo., and the Young Socialist Alliance. Mr. Hamilton reportedly is attempting to organize young people to revolt against the United States government. To say we object to Mr. Hamilton's teaching in the public school system is an understatement."

The papers were part of the FBI's file on its "Cointelpro" or counterintelligence program against New Left groups.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P13A, St. Louis
Globe-Democrat,
St. Louis, Mo.

Date: 4/7/77

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

1-100-21213
1-100-20896-
Character: (J. Hamilton)

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SL

☐ Being Investigated 170

100-21213-~~170~~

SEARCHED INDEXED

SERIALIZED *ml*

APR 11 1977

FBI-ST. LOUIS

0-79 (Rev. 1-7-77)
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JUN 14 1977
(Date)

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT
COINTELPRO - BLACK NATIONALIST
HATE GROUPS

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
at _____.
2. Re ST LOUIS teletype/airtel/letter dated 2-13-70
(office)
at ST LOUIS.
3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
(office)
at _____.
4. Other _____

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified 3-31-77
- b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category 100-21213-171
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____

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100-449628-42

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☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City (*Mini)

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT
 100-21213

JUN 14 1977
 (Date)

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
 at _____.
2. Re ST LOUIS (office) teletype/airtel/letter dated 1-8-69
 at ST LOUIS.
3. Re enclosure to _____ (office) airtel/letter dated _____
 at _____ Don/jtc
4. Other _____

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified 5-31-77
- b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____ 100-21213-172
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____

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☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City ("Mini")

RE:

COINTELPRO - 100-21213 105-8108 (Date)

0 { 15 DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
at _____.
2. Re ST LOUIS teletype/airtel/letter dated 7-2-68
(office)
at ST LOUIS.
3. Re enclosure to ST LOUIS airtel/letter dated 7-2-68
(office)
at ST LOUIS Done/jte
4. Other _____.

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified 5-31-77
- b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category 100-21213-173
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.

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☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City (*Mini*)

RE:

COINTELPRO

- 100-21213

105-8708

IS

DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
 at _____.
2. Re ST LOUIS teletype/airtel/letter dated 6-13-68
 (office)
 at ST LOUIS.
3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
 (office)
 at _____.
4. Other _____.

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified 5-31-77
- b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____.
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____.

100-21213-174

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RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

(Date)

JUN 14 1977

100-21213

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
at _____.
2. Re ST LOUIS teletype/airtel/letter dated 10-10-68
(office)
at ST LOUIS.
3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
(office)
at _____.
4. Other _____

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified 5-31-77
- b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.

100-21213-175
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 FBI - ST. LOUIS

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JUN 14 1977

(Date)

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

100-21213.

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
at _____.
2. Re ST 10015 teletype/airtel/letter dated 1-12-77
(office)
at ST 10015.
3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
(office)
at _____.
4. Other _____.

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified
- b. Classified Confidential, exemption category 2
by 6922, date 12-2-79, date of automatic
declassification INDEFINITE
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____

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JUN 14 1977

(Date)

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
at _____.
2. Re ST LOUIS teletype/airtel/letter dated 3-30-71
(office)
at ST LOUIS.
3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
(office)
at _____.
4. Other _____.

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified
- b. Classified Confidential, exemption category 2
by 6922, date 12-2-94, date of automatic
declassification INDEFINITE 100-21213-177
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____

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100-449698-412-20

FBIHQ Division and Section

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RE:

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

JUN 14 1977

(Date)

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
at _____.
2. Re FBIHQ teletype/airtel/letter dated 2-20-69
(office)
at FBIHQ.
3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
(office)
at _____.
4. Other _____.

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified 5-31-77
- b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category 100-21213-178
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.

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☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City ("Mini")

JUN 14 1977
 (Date)

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
 at _____.
2. Re ST LOUIS teletype/airtel/letter dated 2-14-69
 (office)
 at ST LOUIS.
3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
 (office)
 at _____.
4. Other _____

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified 5-31-77
- b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____.
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category 100-21213-179
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____.

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☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City ("Mini")

JUN 14 1977

(Date)

RE: COINTELPRO

NEW LEFT

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
at _____.
2. Re ST LOUIS teletype/airtel/letter dated 1-22-69
(office)
at ST LOUIS.
3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
(office)
at _____.
4. Other _____.

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified
- b. Classified Confidential, exemption category 2
by 3067, date 1-6-75, date of automatic
declassification INDEFINITE
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category 100-21213-180
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____

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JUN 16 1977	
FBI - ST. LOUIS	

FBIHQ Division and Section

FBI/DOJ

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☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City ("Mini")

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

JUN 14 1977

(Date)

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
at _____.
2. Re ST LOUIS teletype/airtel/letter dated 3-10-69
(office)
at ST LOUIS.
3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
(office)
at _____.
4. Other _____.

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified
- b. Classified Confidential, exemption category 2
by 3067, date 10-75, date of automatic
declassification INDEFINITE
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category 100-21213-181
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____

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FBIHQ Division and Section

FBI/DOJ

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TO LEGAT:

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☐ Buenos Aires
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☐ Hong Kong
☐ London
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☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City (Mim)

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

JUN 14 1977
(Date)

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
at _____.
2. Re ST LOUIS teletype/airtel/letter dated 3-31-69
(office)
at ST LOUIS.
3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
(office)
at _____.
4. Other _____.

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified 5-31-77
- b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.

100-21213-182

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 16 1977	
FBI - ST. LOUIS	

100-449698-42-16

4 DCRH

TO: SAC:

☐ Albany
☐ Albuquerque
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TO LEGAT:

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☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA) ☐ ASAC, Rapid City ("Mini")

RE: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

(Date)

JUN 14 1977

100-21213

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
at _____.
2. Re ST LOUIS teletype/airtel/letter dated 10-15-68
(office)
at ST LOUIS.
3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
(office)
at _____.
4. Other _____.

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified 5-31-77 100-21213-183
- b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____.
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____

NW: 15289 DocId: 70001151 Page 140

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by _____, date _____, date of automatic
declassification _____

100-449698-42-6

HQ0031 1751926

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FM DIRECTOR (100-448006)

TO ALL SACS ROUTINE

BT

E F T O

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (COINTELPRO).

FOR INFORMATION OF ALL OFFICES A SPECIAL REVIEW COMMITTEE (SRC) OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAS BEEN CONDUCTING A SURVEY OF A NUMBER OF OUR DISCONTINUED COINTELPROS AND HAS MADE A DETERMINATION THAT CERTAIN TARGETS SHOULD BE NOTIFIED. THE ACTUAL NOTIFICATION WILL BE EFFECTED BY THE DEPARTMENT AND NO BUREAU PERSONNEL WILL BE INVOLVED. THE SRC HAS ADVISED THAT THEY ARE CONSIDERING NOTIFYING APPROXIMATELY 182 ADDITIONAL INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE TARGETS OF COINTELPRO. TO FACILITATE HANDLING OF THESE NOTIFICATIONS, THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS TO BE OBTAINED BY ALL OFFICES TO ASSIST THE DEPARTMENT IN THEIR NOTIFICATION OF THE RESPECTIVE TARGETS:

100-21213-184

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIAL	FILE
JUN 24 1977	
FBI-ST. LOUIS	

PAGE TWO E F T O (100-448006)

1. WILL NOTIFICATION DISCLOSE THE IDENTITY OF AN INFORMANT OR COMPROMISE SENSITIVE SOURCES OR METHODS?
2. ANY CURRENT OR PENDING LITIGATION REGARDING TARGET IN WHICH FBI OR DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IS AN INTERESTED PARTY?
3. A CHECK OF FIELD OFFICE INDICES, APPROPRIATE TELEPHONE AND STREET DIRECTORIES, TO ASCERTAIN LAST KNOWN ADDRESS OF THE TARGET ONLY. NO ADDITIONAL ATTEMPT IS TO BE MADE TO OBTAIN ADDRESS FOR THE TARGET OR TARGETS, AND UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD ANY INVESTIGATIVE ACTION BE UTILIZED. YOUR OFFICE SHOULD ALSO FURNISH ANY OTHER INFORMATION IN YOUR FILES WHICH WOULD MITIGATE AGAINST NOTIFICATION (I.E. FAILURE OR IMPLEMENT A PROPOSED COINTELPRO ACTION AGAINST THE TARGET OR TARGETS).

YOU WILL BE ADVISED BY TELETYPE, UNDER THE INDIVIDUAL CAPTION OF TARGETS TO BE NOTIFIED. THESE TELETYPES WILL MAKE REFERENCE TO INSTANT TELETYPE AND THE ABOVE INFORMATION IS TO BE OBTAINED FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL TARGET.

BT

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Underground Paper Here Was Watched By FBI

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17 — Marty Liebowitz was not surprised to find out that the FBI had been watching him. He had suspected it all along, he said.

Liebowitz, of St. Louis, was the editor of the St. Louis Free Press, an underground newspaper published in the late 1960s.

FBI documents obtained by the Post-Dispatch under the Freedom-of-Information Act show that the FBI took an active interest in plans to start the paper. An FBI informer apparently was at an early planning session in 1968. The St. Louis FBI office wrote up a report about it.

"This may sound cynical, but I assumed that," Liebowitz said in St. Louis. "It doesn't surprise me at all. But at the

same time, I can't run my life worrying about it. That was the FBI's job — or at least their definition of their job." He said he was writing a book.

The planning session took place April 11, 1968, according to an FBI memo of August 1968.

"This source has furnished reliable information in the past and identity is to be protected," the memo began. It said the meeting was held at the St. Louis Peace Information Center. The informer's name was blacked out.

"This meeting was held to discuss the starting of an underground newspaper in St. Louis," the memo said. "Informant obtained copies of three leaflets that were handed out."

The three leaflets were put in the FBI file. One discussed the size of the paper, number of copies, cost, and purpose. It was signed by Liebowitz and four other persons associated with radical causes.

The second leaflet talked about the political context of an underground paper. The third was titled "The Times They Are A-Changing." It spoke of the helplessness felt by the young in trying to solve the country's problems. It was signed by Liebowitz.

The memo noted that the paper was originally to be called "The Root." But it later emerged as the St. Louis Free Press.

One device the FBI used against some groups was to try to suppress their publications. The Black Panther newspaper was the target of FBI action, among others.

There was no indication in the documents as to what action, if any, the FBI took against the St. Louis Free Press. "We did have printers tell us they couldn't do it any more," Liebowitz noted. "But nobody would come out and say the pressure was being put on. They had seemingly legitimate reasons.

"While we might have had suspicions that pressure was being put on them, there was never any way to prove it. And in any event, it was not an insurmountable problem."

Robert Adams

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

p14, St. Louis
Post-Dispatch,
St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 11/17/77
Edition:

Title:

100-21213 (COINTEL
PRO-NEW LEFT)

Character:
or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SL

100-21213-185
NOV 21 1977

FBI-ST. LOUIS

FBI 49A

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Proposed Mail- Tampering

By **ROBERT ADAMS**
A Washington Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 — The FBI made plans in 1969 to intercept and distort tape-recordings mailed among members of the Black Panther Party, an internal FBI memorandum shows.

The memo, dated Nov. 13, 1969, appeared to raise for the first time the possibility that illegal mail-tampering was one of the techniques used by the FBI against black militants in the late 1960s.

The Senate Intelligence Committee reported last year that the FBI conducted several mail-opening operations between 1940 and 1966. The late J. Edgar Hoover, who was director, purportedly stopped the operations in 1966 and later called them "clearly illegal."

But those operations, the Senate report said, were directed primarily at suspected foreign agents.

The memo was among hundreds of internal FBI documents obtained by the Post-Dispatch through a request under the Freedom of Information Act. The documents shed new light on the FBI's controversial "Cointelpro" or counterintelligence program. The program was designed to disrupt, harass and discredit black militant and New Left groups.

The documents also show that the FBI — at least in Illinois — carried out a plan to try to get truck drivers to boycott the Black Panther newspaper in late 1970 and early 1971. The newspaper was considered a major source of financial and political support for the Black Panthers, according to the documents.

The 1969 memo on the tape-recordings came from the files of the FBI office in Springfield, Ill. The name of the special agent who wrote the memo was blacked out in the copy given to the Post-Dispatch.

The memo made several references to "the Bureau." An FBI spokesman said that term, in FBI parlance, meant FBI headquarters in Washington.

The memo said the bureau had obtained information indicating that various Black Panther chapters were forwarding taped reports to Panther headquarters in San Francisco. The Panther headquarters were actually in nearby Oakland, Calif.

The use of tapes, the memo said, "suggests the counterintelligence possibility of preparing and mailing tapes containing disruptive, erroneous information."

"Also under certain circumstances, it may be feasible to erase or distort these

tapes, making them valueless to the recipient."

To see whether these things could be done, the memo said, "the bureau has requested that we determine the following:

"1. If BPP (Black Panther Party) branches in your territory are sending reports on tape to national headquarters or to other branches.

"2. If tapes are generally dictated by the same person; if so, who?

"3. The extent of use, that is, are tapes sent on a regular basis or sporadically. If regularly, are they sent out on a particular day of the week?

"4. Full description of tape utilized, including brand, size, etc.

"5. Method of packaging, addressing and mailing. In this connection, it would be helpful to know if protective packaging is used.

"6. Any other available information regarding the handling of these tapes."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P2A, St. Louis
Post-Dispatch,
St. Louis, Mo.

Date: 11/21/77

Edition:

Title:

100-21213

Character: (COINTEL-PRO)
or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SL

100-21213-186
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED

NOV 22 1977

FBI-ST. LOUIS

The memo was addressed to the special agent in charge in Springfield, but was apparently intended for distribution to FBI agents in other Illinois cities. It said agents who received the memo should report whatever information they gathered so that it could be given to FBI headquarters.

There was no indication in the documents as to whether the FBI carried out its plan to intercept and distort the tapes. Charles Garry, the San Francisco lawyer who has represented the Panthers in several court cases, told the Post-Dispatch some tapes did wind up missing.

"We attributed it to the bad mail service, or to somebody's having misaddressed them," Garry said. But he said also the Panthers suspected they were the targets of disruptive action by federal authorities.

"During that time, if you made accusations, you were considered paranoid," Garry said. "But we knew there were things going on, although we couldn't put our finger on it. I knew we were being hit from all sides."

Garry said the newly disclosed memo raises the possibility that tapes involved in criminal investigations of the Panthers might have been altered. He said former Black Panther leader Bobby Seale — while listening to government-held tapes during pre-trial discovery proceedings in 1970 — had asserted that some of the tapes were doctored.

Seale was then facing trial in New Haven, Conn., on charges growing out of the torture and murder of Alex Rackley, a Black Panther. The judge dismissed the charges against Seale after the trial ended in a hung jury.



"He was listening, and he said to me: 'I never said that. They've done something to that tape,'" Garry recalled. "Those are the kinds of things you wonder about."

As it turned out, those particular tapes were not used as evidence at the trial.

John F. Shattuck, director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union, called the FBI memo "a shocking and disturbing example of a Cointelpro operation."

Shattuck noted that the Senate Intelligence Committee, in spite of its extensive investigation of FBI activities, said in its report that the mail-opening stopped in 1966.

"The fact that the committee apparently didn't get this document and thought the cutoff point was earlier is just another example of how easily the bureau can evade congressional oversight," he said. "The FBI should be brought under very strict controls, limiting its activities to the investigation of crimes." The Senate panel is drafting a proposed charter for the FBI.

"The operation described here was clearly aimed at disrupting the Panthers' political activities," Shattuck said. "Not only was the FBI apparently going to open the mail — they were going to tamper with the tapes as well."

An FBI spokesman referred to Hoover's 1966 memo halting the FBI mail-openings. He said the agency's position was that such activity was assumed to have stopped them.

"Of course, our policy would be that we would never alter tapes in a criminal investigation," he said in reference to the Seale matter.

He noted that some of the charges against John J. Kearney, the former supervisor in the New York FBI office, involved the alleged illegal opening of mail. Kearney was indicted by a federal grand jury April 7 on charges that his agents had illegally opened mail and

tapped phones in attempts to track down members of the radical Weather-Underground. Kearney has pleaded not guilty.

The documents obtained by the Post-Dispatch show that the FBI in Illinois carried out a plan aimed at getting truck drivers to stop hauling the Black Panther newspaper.

The plan, formulated in late 1970, was to distribute copies of a column about the Panthers by labor columnist Victor Riesel. The column spoke of a proposal for a nationwide boycott of Panther newspapers by union members. The FBI headquarters directed 39 field offices to distribute copies of the column.

The Senate Intelligence Committee's 1976 report said: "Bureau documents submitted to the select committee staff do not indicate the outcome of this plan."

The documents, however, show that FBI agents did distribute the column by mail and by hand to truckers and perhaps others in Illinois.

"If such a boycott gains national support, it will obviously result in effectively cutting off BPP propaganda and finances," said a memo in the Springfield office dated Dec. 23, 1970.

A memo, dated Feb. 10, 1971, and addressed to the agent in charge in Springfield, said copies of the Riesel column "were placed in various trucks parked at Worthington truck stop. N. (near) Cairo, Ill."

It said the same thing was done at the Skelly truck stop at Interstate 57 at Marion, Ill.

A Jan. 13, 1971, memo said the Riesel column and an anonymous letter "were mailed to the following organizations in Peoria" on that date. The names of the organizations are blacked out.

The same documents were mailed to an unidentified person or organization in Rock Island, Ill., and apparently other cities, the memos show. The Dec. 23, 1970, memo indicated that copies of the column were being sent to resident FBI agents in Alton, Belleville, Carbondale, Champaign, Peoria and Rock Island for distribution.

The agents were to distribute the column and letter anonymously, the memo said. The word "anonymously" was underlined. The agents were told to take "precautions to ensure that they (the documents) cannot be traced to the bureau."

The newly disclosed actions came at a time of intense FBI activity against the Black Panthers. The Senate committee's report said the Panthers were the targets of at least 233 Cointelpro actions. These included attempts to stir up gang warfare between the Panthers and a group called US in Los Angeles and between the Panthers and the Blackstone Rangers, a street gang in Chicago.

The campaign also included several attempts to sow internal discord among the Black Panthers, to break up their marriages, to block them from speaking engagements, and to harass their financial supporters.

Most of the actions were taken between 1968 and 1971. Hoover, in a 1968 memo, cited violent confrontations between the police and the Black Panthers and declared them to be "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

More On Cointelpro

The late J. Edgar Hoover's Cointelpro (Counterintelligence Program) has apparently vanished from the FBI under Justice Department guidelines, but there remains good reason to examine what it did, as a warning for the future. Thus this newspaper has learned that the FBI office in Springfield, Ill., boasted that it was responsible for the dismissal of two student activists from jobs with a company in Normal in 1969. The FBI also took credit for keeping another student from a job at a home for boys at Normal.

Meanwhile, in the St. Louis area, the FBI was using an informant to monitor creation of an underground newspaper, the *St. Louis Free Press*. In the same general period of the late 1960s, the FBI also was gathering what seems to have been unnecessarily detailed information about the travels of the Rev. Charles Koen, formerly head of the Black Liberators. Documents about these cases were obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. It had already been learned that the FBI tried to break up the Rev. Koen's marriage by writing a poison pen letter to his wife.

That was Cointelpro, an extra-legal effort to harass anti-war protestors and other political dissidents suspect to Mr. Hoover or his agents. Too often it involved, not law enforcement, but violation of the law.

Earlier this year Clarence Kelley, the present FBI director, said there was no excuse for FBI agents breaking the law. He was commenting on an indictment of an FBI agent in New York on charges of illegal wire tapping, mail opening and conspiracy. But Mr. Kelley also remarked that the feeling among FBI agents was that their indicted colleague was "doing something with the intent to properly serve the mission of the FBI — to protect the country."

That statement indirectly expresses the excuse for Cointelpro — that it was justified for reasons of patriotic motive. It is a poor excuse, and Mr. Kelley was right the first time. A law enforcement agency has no business breaking laws. But as long as that feeling of pure motivation exists, it remains an excuse for abuses. That is why Cointelpro is worth re-examination.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P2E, St. Louis
Post-Dispatch,
St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 11/21/77
Edition:

Title:

100-21213 (COINTEL-

Character: PRO)

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SL

100-21213-182
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED

NOV 22 1977

FBI-ST. LOUIS

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Documents Disclose Efforts Were Made To Disrupt Activists

By ROBERT ADAMS
A Washington Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17 — The Federal Bureau of Investigation boasted that it was responsible for the dismissal of two student activists at Illinois State University at Normal from jobs with a company in Normal in 1969, internal FBI documents show.

The FBI took credit also for blocking another student activist from a job at a home for underprivileged boys at Normal, the documents show. The three students were said to be members of Students for a Democratic Society, a radical student organization.

The documents were obtained by the Post-Dispatch under the Freedom of Information Act as a result of a request

filed in December 1975 asking for FBI material on its counter-intelligence program, or "Cointelpro" — a program aimed at harassing and disrupting new left and other militant groups.

The request specifically covered activities by the St. Louis and Springfield, Ill., field offices of the FBI, as well as FBI activities nationally. FBI officials said more documents would be provided later.

The FBI provided hundreds of pages of internal memos and documents. Some showed that the St. Louis FBI office monitored the establishment of an underground newspaper, the St. Louis Free Press, in 1968 after an informer obtained copies of leaflets discussing it.

The papers also shed further light on FBI efforts to monitor the activities of the Rev. Charles Koen, formerly head of

the Black Liberators in St. Louis and later head of the United Front in Cairo, Ill.

Those efforts included gathering details about Koen's travels, including dates of his plane trips, whether he flew by commercial or private plane, cost of the trips, and his itinerary. Papers previously made public showed that the FBI tried to break up Koen's marriage by writing a poison-pen letter to his wife. The agency also circulated a cartoon about Koen designed to discredit him in the black community.

The new papers show also that the Springfield FBI office was looking for ways to block speeches by two radical figures at the University of Illinois in 1968.

The Springfield FBI sought help from

the Chicago FBI office in preventing Eldridge Cleaver, then a Black Panther leader, and Staughton Lynd, an anti-war activist, from speaking at the university's campus at Urbana during a week of anti-war protests. No plan was worked out, however, and Lynd spoke on campus. Cleaver did not speak, university officials said, apparently because of a conflicting engagement on the West Coast.

The purported job dismissals of the two SDS members at Normal was described in a memo dated Sept. 10, 1969. The memo was prepared by the Springfield FBI office.

The names of the students were blacked out in the copies given to the Post-Dispatch by the FBI. FBI officials said that was done to protect the students' privacy. The name of the special FBI agent who prompted the dismissals was also blacked out.

The memo said the two were dismissed on Aug. 19, 1969, from the Eureka Williams Co. in Normal. The firm is now the Eureka Co.

The memo said the dismissals were among the "results to date" of the Cointelpro operation against the new left in the area covered by the Springfield office.

It described the Eureka firm as "a national defense contractor" and a division of National Union Electronics. The memo said one SDS member "was dismissed for unauthorized absence and (the other) for unsatisfactory work."

"Neither is eligible for rehire," the memo said. "Information leading to their dismissal was furnished to established contacts at Eureka Williams Company by (agent's name blacked out)."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PlA-14, St. Louis
Post-Dispatch,
St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 11/17/77

Edition:

Title:

100-21213 (COINTEL
PRO-NEW LEFT)

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SL

100-21213-188

~~100-21213-242~~

FILED INDEXED
SERIALIZED *wfk*

NOV 21 1977

FBI-ST. LOUIS

FBI *WFK*

Harold Schaefer, president of the Eureka firm, said he had never heard of the incident. Company officers said their personnel records were kept alphabetically. They said it would be impossible to find out more without knowing the names.

Schaefer, who was an officer of the firm in 1969, said he didn't know who the FBI's "established contacts" might be. He said his company would not dismiss

someone for political reasons.

"God knows, we have no prejudice of any kind," he said.

Asked his reaction to the FBI memo, Schaefer said: "I have no opinion about it. When you're running government contracts, you don't know what can happen . . . my reaction is that I'm running a company."

The firm makes vacuum cleaners and floor care products. Its work for the Department of Defense has included the manufacture of bomb fuses. The company employs about 25,000 persons, 2,000 of them in them in the Normal area.

In the same memo, the FBI told of another SDS member who was denied a job in Normal.

The memo said the FBI was told on July 1, 1969, that an SDS member had applied for a job at Victory Hall, then a home for orphans and underprivileged youth. It now specializes in treating adolescents with emotional or behavioral problems. The student's name was blocked out.

"Due to this information being furnished to appropriate sources, (the student) was not considered for a position," the FBI memo said.

Scott Brown, assistant director of Victory Hall, told a reporter that the person who ran the organization in 1969 died earlier this year. Brown, who has been there since 1975, said he would not turn down anyone for a job on the basis of political philosophy.

Koen's name is blacked out in obvious references to him in the documents in every case but one. A memo, dated Dec. 29, 1970, referred to "the head of the Cairo United Front." Koen says that certain FBI activities were directed at him.

The 1970 memo said the FBI was "instituting a study" of Koen's travels "over the past several months." It said information had been developed about his use of a private flight service in Cape Girardeau, Mo. It asked the St. Louis FBI office for help in tracing Koen's travels from Cape Girardeau and Paducah, Ky.

The effort was part of a plan by the

FBI to depict Koen as a person who lived a life of luxury and cared little about the poor. A cartoon to that effect was distributed among blacks in Cairo, previous FBI documents have shown.

A memo dated Dec. 10, 1970, discussed the possible preparation of "a well-documented anonymous throwaway" about Koen's travels. It said FBI actions "should take some of the steam out of the various press announcements issued by the Cairo United Front" and should "neutralize or reduce Koen's effectiveness "as an agitator."

Koen sued FBI officials and others for \$6 million in damages after the FBI's campaign to harass him became known in late 1975. The suit was dismissed by U.S. District Judge John J. Sirica on Nov. 8, 1976, after Koen failed to appear in court for a hearing. Sirica said in his dismissal order that Koen had failed to prosecute the suit.

A memo dated Oct. 25, 1968, dealt with the planned appearances of Lynd and Cleaver in Urbana. They were scheduled to speak during a week of protest against the Vietnam War Oct. 21-27.

"The potential hazard to law and order of having these two characters in our

division has been recognized," the FBI memo said.

It said the Chicago FBI office was asked to supply plans "which might tend to disrupt Staughton Lynd's appearance here." The memo noted that Chicago had no such plan. The Chicago office did ask Springfield to get a tape recording of Cleaver's speech, however.

The W. E. B. DuBois club in St. Louis also was a target of the FBI, the documents show.

On Feb. 1, 1966, the St. Louis FBI office reported sending a pamphlet titled "Target — American Youth" to the real estate company that managed the club's headquarters at 1910 N. Grand Blvd. The pamphlets were sent anonymously by the FBI.

The FBI attempted in the '60s to portray the DuBois Clubs as Communist front groups, although leaders of the club denied it.

A reporter for the St. Louis Globe-Democrat was informed of the attendance of a St. Louisan at conventions of the DuBois Club and the Communist Party, another memo shows.

That memo, dated July 14, 1966, said the reporter—whose name was blacked out—"was furnished information" about

the individual—whose name was also deleted.

"The possibility of a news article" about the individual, and the possibility of tying the DuBois Club in with the Communists, was discussed with the reporter, the FBI memo said. The reporter "was specifically advised that under no circumstances should the fact that the FBI had furnished this data be publicized," the memo said.

There was no indication as to whether the article was written. The FBI files did contain a 1967 article in the Globe-Democrat about a St. Louis peace activist who admitted belonging to the Communist Party at one time.

High schools, colleges and universities were closely watched by the FBI in the fall of 1968 for new left activity, the files show.

The St. Louis FBI office, in a memo dated Oct. 18, 1968, said that "a potentially dangerous situation at Webster Groves High School has been averted" after school administrators talked with a student who worked with SDS. School officials said they could not recall any student involvement with SDS.

The FBI was also watching a group called the Black Brothers of Springfield

in Springfield, Ill. In 1968, an FBI agent went into the group's headquarters along with an officer of the bank responsible for managing the property.

"Discreet searches were made" for indications of weapons or incendiary devices at the headquarters at 1112 East Adams St. in Springfield, "but nothing along this line was found," an Oct. 23, 1968, FBI memo says.

The FBI's Cointelpro program was designed, in the words of one FBI document, to "expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize" the new left and its leaders. In St. Louis, the program included attempts to break up the marriages of Koen and another activist who belonged to the civil rights group ACTION.

Among the new FBI papers is a memo dated Oct. 28, 1970, saying the St. Louis office had no Cointelpro projects going at that time.

It added, however, that the St. Louis chapter of the Nation of Islam, a black nationalist organization, might be a future target because of "a recent change in No. 1 leadership at local mosque." There was no indication as to whether the FBI later moved against the group.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Authored 'Black Paper' That Smeared Area Leaders

By ROBERT ADAMS
A Washington Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22 — The Federal Bureau of Investigation put out a bogus newspaper in St. Louis in 1969 containing sex smears against civil rights figures in the St. Louis area as part of a scheme to harass and discredit them, internal FBI documents show.

The FBI falsely attributed the "underground newspaper" to black students at Southern Illinois University and to Henry Thomas, a leader of the St. Louis chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality, apparently to maximize the disruption it would cause. The FBI later said that at least two civil rights figures were discredited by it. One was "destroyed," the FBI said.

The FBI also mailed out a phony flier in 1968 to set two St. Louis black groups — the Black Liberators and the Zulu 1200s — against each other. The FBI said that it helped cause a scuffle between two blacks.

In addition, the FBI sent a critical letter to a white radical in St. Louis purporting to be from the ACTION guerrilla force. The letter told him to "keep your Jew mouth shut" and was designed to foster enmity between him and black activists. The guerrilla force is affiliated with the St. Louis civil rights group ACTION.

The incidents were disclosed in 52,600

pages of FBI documents made available to the Post-Dispatch and other newspapers yesterday under the Freedom of Information Act. The documents — some never seen before even by congressional investigators — give many new details about the FBI's program to harass and disrupt black militants and leftist organizations.

The operation, which was carried on nationwide for at least three years, was called the counter-intelligence program, or Cointelpro.

The files show numerous attempts in St. Louis and East St. Louis to drive wedges between black activist groups, or between members of the same group, by spreading false information. A 1969 document was

done anonymously or under false attribution.

The sex-smear newspaper was proposed by the St. Louis FBI office and approved by FBI headquarters in Washington. It was outlined in a memo dated April 4, 1969, from the special agent in charge. The agent in charge of the St. Louis office then was Joseph H. Gamble.

Two copies of the newspaper, called Blackboard, were enclosed.

The memo says, "The Blackboard is written as an intelligent black college student might write it, and it both praises and criticizes various black activists in the bi-state area." The memo said that "care has been utilized" to praise weak black leaders and criticize

strong ones.

"It is felt that the anonymous distribution of copies of this newspaper will have a very disruptive effect on the black militants in the area and discredit some of the more popular ones," the memo said. Headquarters approved, and 200 copies were sent to black newspapers, groups, and leaders in the St. Louis area.

A front-page column in Blackboard was headlined: "The Black Bed Post Award." It purportedly went to black activists with the "hottest" sex lives.

"This issue's winners" were listed by name. They included a Black Liberator, who was identified, and "his favorite partner," who also was identified. Another was a member of the Mid-City

Community Congress in St. Louis. "and any honkie secretary he can overtake and overpower."

The third "winner" was an outspoken black activist. The fourth was a Black Liberator and a woman member of the Association of Black Collegians.

The Blackboard also contained a sharply critical story about Katherine Dunham, the nationally known dancer who teaches at SIU at Edwardsville. The FBI considered her an effective black leader.

It also took slaps at Percy Green, chairman of ACTION, and the Rev. Charles Koen, then head of the United Front in Cairo, Ill., "Charles Koen,

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PLA-7, St. Louis
Post-Dispatch,
St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 11/22/77
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Title:
100-21213
(COINTEL-PRO)

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FBI-ST. LOUIS

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McKendree College's most famous dropout, is apparently running neck-and-neck with Percy Green of St. Louis as the #1 Headline Chaser in the bi-state area," the story began.

The Blackboard contained a small box designed to make it look as if Thomas — who was an SIU student as well as a leader of CORE — was behind it.

"Keep your Underground Press going. Send all donations to it, Thomas," it read. It listed an address that Thomas, now a lawyer in St. Louis, said was his at the time.

The FBI sent 200 copies out. In a memo dated May 26, 1969, the St. Louis office noted "the following results."

It said an FBI informer had said copies were "all over St. Louis and East St. Louis." One person, whose name was blacked out in the copy made public by the FBI, "would be punished" for participating in it, according to the word on the streets.

The informer told the FBI that a person, whose name was blacked out in the memo, "was extremely angry" about the newspaper and had told several persons he was going "to get" a person, whose name was blacked out, for it.

Beyond this, the memo said, one militant had been "told to 'get out of town' by several black leaders as a result of his tirades against the Blackboard" and an outburst at an ACTION meeting.

Another activist was disturbed that the newspaper publicized his previous connection with the now-defunct Zulu 1200s. The activist, who was identified, was also accused in the Blackboard of allowing a robbery to take place at a building he was guarding.

The FBI said the activist confronted somebody — again the name was blacked out — who he believed was responsible. That person denied it. But the activist did not believe the denial, the memo said.

"(Name blacked out) had no information as to any specific future action which black militants in the East St. Louis, Ill., area might take against (name blacked out)," the memo went on. "It is felt that the effectiveness of (names blacked out) has been blunted, and it is unlikely that they will ever be able to regain their former stature. (Names blacked out) have probably also lost some degree of influence as a result of Blackboard's publication."

Another memo said Blackboard "apparently completely destroyed (Name

blacked out) as a racial figure of any consequence."

Based on all this, the FBI concluded that Blackboard was "a most successful counterintelligence endeavor."

Thomas, when told about the documents, said: "That's really amazing."

"In those days, if you said somebody was conspiring against you, you were looked at as an idiot. And here it is, seven or eight years later, and the whole doggone thing is true. It was really happening."

Thomas said he had no clear recollection of the Blackboard episode. He noted that early 1969 was a period of intense civil rights activity in St. Louis, with many disputes among civil rights groups and leaders.

"The FBI is designed to protect citizens, and it was doing the opposite," Thomas said. "That's the tragedy — all this was done with the taxpayers' money."

The 1968 flier was titled "Black People Choose!" According to an FBI memo dated Oct. 29, 1968, it was designed to drive a wedge between the Black Liberators and the Zulu 1200s. Both were militant black groups in St. Louis at the time.

"A degree of friction between the two groups exists which can be exploited," the memo said.

The FBI tried to make it look as if the Zulus wrote the flier. In the left-hand column, the flier listed all the good

things about the Zulus. In the right, it listed several bad things about the Liberators. It said the Liberators were "run by white honkie ministers." It said their members were "Illinois Negroes who don't give a damn." It said they "dress like honkie truck drivers and motorcycle cats."

The St. Louis FBI sent 200 copies to black leaders. In a Nov. 22, 1968 memo, it called the results "very satisfactory."

The memo said a St. Louis policeman quoted a black man as saying of the flier: "Looks like them Zulus are asking for trouble."

It said there was plenty of "talk on the streets" about a feud between the groups. And it described an incident in a tavern on Natural Bridge Avenue:

"The Zulus were giving a skit and one of their members held up a picture of Abraham Lincoln. A Black Liberator jumped up, tore the picture from his hand, and a very brief scuffle ensued. The Black Liberators immediately left."

"While the above incident may not be directly attributed to the flier mailing, it is very likely that it was a contributing factor."

The FBI memo promised that St. Louis FBI agents "will be alert to logical follow-up action."

The "keep your Jew mouth shut" letter was written in 1970. The head of the St. Louis FBI office then was J. Wallace LaPrade.

Its purpose was described in a memo dated Jan. 19, 1970. The memo noted that a white militant — whose name was deleted — considered himself the leader of the Weathermen, a radical group, in St. Louis.

Despite the fact that the FBI determined that he had little support, and that "there is no Weatherman organization or Weatherman meetings" in St. Louis, he was made an FBI target.

"One of the brothers said you spoke at Florrisant Valley (college) the other day, and the s--- you put down sounded like you want St. Louis," the handwritten

letter to the white radical said. "For your information, St. Louis belongs to ACTION . . . Keep your Jew mouth shut. ACTION guerrilla force."

The FBI memo said the letter would make the radical wonder if there was really support for the Weathermen in St. Louis. It would make his parents — with whom he lived — fear for his safety. It could have "the additional benefit" of "creating doubt and mistrust" between black and white activists.

No results were recorded after the letter was sent.

When reached today at his home in St. Louis today, Green, the chairman of ACTION, said the Weathermen incident was "dumb" on the part of the FBI.

"I think this particular FBI effort was most ineffective because, at the time, we were involved in church demonstrations and it was a known fact—and the FBI should have known it too—that some of our members were Jewish," Green said.

"It was dumb on the FBI's part. It shows how dumb and dangerous the FBI was at this particular time. Our demonstrations were more sophisticated than the FBI's efforts, even though they had all the money and other resources available. They went ahead with this, spent taxpayers money, for something (the Weathermen) they knew didn't hardly exist here:

"We are not convinced that the FBI program has been totally squashed. We think the program still exists, but under a different name now," Green said.

blackboard

the underground newspaper of (SIU) Black student

VOLUME I

Number 3

April 21, 1969

SMEAR SHEET: The masthead of the bogus underground newspaper "Blackboard," published secretly by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. (UPI Telephoto)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI had idea to install own Klan wizard

By Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The FBI once considered installing its own man as imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. And the agency wrote and published a fake "student" newspaper in waging a campaign to discredit antiwar leaders at American University in Washington, D.C., according to documents released Monday.

The FBI plans were revealed in painstaking detail when the agency released its voluminous counterintelligence file showing the use of thefts and dirty tricks to harass political groups.

The so-called Cointelpro files, 53,000 pages filling three government-green cabinets, disclosed the tactics employed by the FBI to discredit student activists and organized political groups.

MUCH of the material had previously been made public, but the complete files released at the J. Edgar Hoover Building Monday showed the scope of questionable counterintelligence tactics, many used against persons and groups never accused of criminal activities.

The idea behind the 1967 Ku Klux Klan scheme was to depose Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton by conducting a smear campaign against him. It was dropped by Washington FBI officials when the agency decided its infiltration of the Klan was already sufficient.

The 15-year campaign of political harassment was suspended by the FBI six years ago, but the bureau still classifies 15,000 pages as secret.

It took four years to edit the Cointelpro files and prepare them for release. An FBI spokesman said his wild guess was that it cost \$100,000 to comply with the Freedom of Information queries that opened the files.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P8B, St. Louis
Globe-Democrat,
St. Louis, Mo.

Date: 11/22/77

Edition:

Title:

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Character: (COINTELPRO)

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Classification:

Submitting Office: SL

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ONE DOCUMENT revealed the reliance on stereotypes by a San Francisco FBI agent who disparaged blacks in a crudely worded memo explaining the difficulty in harassing black activists.

In the 1950s the FBI wanted to turn U.S. Communist Party members against leaders William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis by showing that they were living luxuriously at the expense of the rank-and-file.

When this proved untrue, it angered Director Hoover, who initiated and oversaw counterintelligence activities, so much that he chastised the agent who investigated the case and had recommended the project be dropped for "editorializing on reasons why the living habits of these two party leaders should not be publicized."

However, in October, 1956, Hoover asked the Internal Revenue Service to investigate Communist Party leaders, and he supplied the IRS with the names of 336 Communists who he said had gone underground.

OTHER INCIDENTS disclosed by the files:

— An FBI source stole the membership list of a group known as the New University Conference, then bragged to headquarters that the list would be "a rich source of counterintelligence action."

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Anonymous FBI Letter Was Costly To Woman

By CURT MATTHEWS
A Washington Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22 — The sad story of one young woman is buried deep in the 53,000-plus pages of confidential documents the Federal Bureau of Investigation has made public on its counter-intelligence program.

When the "Cointelpro" effort was started in May 1968, FBI field offices were told to gather information on members of New Left organizations that would show "the scurrilous and depraved nature of many of the characters" who were active in such organizations.

Not much happened at first, so in October 1968 another letter went out to each of the FBI field offices. This one urged Bureau agents "to remain alert for and to seek specific data depicting the depraved nature and the moral looseness of the New Left."

The second letter prompted action in the Springfield, Ill., office of the FBI and created a family crisis for a young woman then attending Illinois State University at Normal.

On Feb. 26, 1970, the Springfield FBI office asked for permission to send an anonymous letter to the girl's parents informing them that she was living with a married man. The FBI had identified the girl as a member of Students for a Democratic Society, one of several New Left organizations that the FBI was watching.

In requesting permission to inform the woman's parents about her living arrangements, the Springfield office noted, "Discreet checks reveal that Mr. and Mrs. (deleted name) are reputable citizens with good reputations and live in an upper-middle-class neighborhood. Mr. (Deleted) works for (deleted) which is very strict concerning personnel reputations and relations."

The Springfield FBI office said that once the parents knew that their daughter was living with a married man they would force her to drop out of school and thus remove her influence from the SDS organization.

The Springfield office explained that it had prepared a letter "written by a female on personal correspondence stationery" to be mailed from Normal.

A copy of the letter was included in the documents released by the FBI yesterday. It said in part:

"At this time of sorrow in your lives, I would like to let you know other parents, like myself, have undergone this traumatic experience.

"Our daughter, like your Catherine, began living with a married man, a no good, lecherous, parasitic, malcontent under the delusion that she was in love with him."

The letter went on to tell how the writer's daughter had been led into drugs and prostitution and finally arrested by the police and "legally committed for drug addiction."

"If you haven't tried to talk to your daughter, please do, don't forsake her," the letter said. "It may not be too late, like it almost was for ours."

The letter was signed, "Hurt, but fortunate, in Normal."

On March 10, 1970, permission to send the letter was granted by the office of J. Edgar Hoover, then director of the FBI.

The memorandum of approval said: "Authority is granted to make the anonymous mailing as suggested. In preparing the letter, all necessary steps are to be taken to protect the identity of the bureau as its source. Advise of any results noted."

On June 30, 1970, in a quarterly report to Washington on how the program was progressing in the Springfield office, these results were noted:

"Anonymous letter was forwarded to the parents of a female SDS (Weatherman) who was involved with a married man at Illinois State University, Normal, Ill. This female has now moved from the residence and has dropped from the university. The role the letter may have played in this action is unknown at present."

There is no indication in any of the FBI documents that the girl was ever involved in illegal activities as a member of SDS or that her New Left activities went any further than membership in the organization.

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Post-Dispatch,
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Anonymous Letter

FBI Effort To 'Get' Leftist Student

By CURT MATTHEWS
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FBI Authored Smear Sheet

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Association of Black Collegians

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VOLUME I Number 3 April 21, 1969

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Its purpose was described in a memo dated Jan. 19, 1970. The memo noted that a white militant — whose name was deleted — considered himself the leader of the Weathermen, a radical group, in St. Louis.

Despite the fact that the FBI determined that he had little support, and that

"there is no Weatherman organization or Weatherman meetings" in St. Louis, he was made an FBI target.

"One of the brothers said you spoke at Florrisant Valley (college) the other day and the s— you put down sounded like you want St. Louis," the handwritten letter to the white radical said. "For your information, St. Louis belongs to ACTION ... Keep your Jew mouth shut. ACTION guerrilla force."

The FBI memo said the letter would make the radical wonder if there was really support for the Weathermen in St. Louis. It would make his parents — with whom he lived — fear for his safety. It could have "the additional benefit" of "creating doubt and mistrust" between black and white activists.

No results were recorded after the letter was sent.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Proposed Frightening Leftist Groups With Magic

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23 (UPI) — The FBI proposed trying to disrupt the New Left movement in the late 1960s by frightening the members with magic, the bureau's files show.

Details of these efforts by the FBI's Philadelphia office to head off New Left campus disorders were included in 52,648 pages of documents the FBI has released about its 15-year campaign to disrupt extremist groups.

The FBI's Philadelphia office on Dec. 4, 1968, wrote then-director J. Edgar Hoover about "a new phenomenon — a yen for magic" practiced by hippies, Yippies and members of the Students for a Democratic Society. The memo described the beads and amulets worn by the students, and said they also used the Greek-letter Omega as an antiwar

symbol and listened to self-appointed yogis whose "incantations are a reminder of the chant of a witch doctor."

The Philadelphia office proposed using similar mystical symbolism in anonymous messages to harass the New Left followers. One example showed a drawing of a beetle with the hand-printed words: "Beware the Siberian Beetle." This message was to be followed by a second saying, "The Beetle can talk."

There were no reports on whether the strategy was followed.

Documents previously made public by the CIA showed that that agency also delved into magic. The CIA hired a professional magician to teach agents sleight-of-hand so they could surreptitiously slip LSD and other drugs into the drinks of witting and unwitting Americans.

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Smear Pamphlet Included In FBI Scheme

By ROBERT ADAMS

A Washington Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23 — The St. Louis office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation prepared a pamphlet depicting a St. Louis black activist as a "part-time forger" and portraying a white activist as a drug-pusher, all as part of a scheme to discredit them, FBI documents show. But the scheme apparently was never carried out.

The two-page pamphlet, which the St. Louis office noted was "sprinkled with factual inaccuracies and exaggerations," was made to look as if a right-wing group put it out. The pamphlet was devised in 1969.

The scheme apparently was dropped, however, when FBI headquarters in Washington raised questions about its legality. The St. Louis office continued to push, but finally withdrew its request for authorization to mail the pamphlets.

The papers show also that the St. Louis FBI office suggested discrediting various Black Panther members nationally by making them look like FBI informers. It proposed using black FBI agents to pose as lovers of the wives of Panther members to disrupt their marriages.

FBI agents also were looking for ways to reduce the influence of the St. Louis civil rights group ACTION, its newspaper, and its annual demonstrations against the Veiled Prophet parade, the documents show.

The documents were among 52,600 pages of FBI papers made available to news organizations this week. The papers provide details about the FBI's counter-intelligence program, or "Coin Telpro." The program was designed to harass and discredit black and white militants in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The pamphlet smearing the two St. Louis activists was proposed in an FBI memo dated July 11, 1969. The St. Louis office titled the pamphlet "Storm Warn-

ings. The purpose of 'Storm Warnings' is to alert the reader to both the known and

the relatively unknown agitators in the St. Louis area," the memo said. "It is sprinkled with factual inaccuracies and exaggerations in order to carry out the theme as a typical 'right-winger' might write it, and also to eliminate any suspicion that any official investigating agency assisted in the preparation."

The names of the two activists were Headquarters responded in a memo dated July 29, 1969, that the pamphlets "are appreciated" and "represent a great deal of time and effort." But the St. Louis office was asked to check before mailing "whether this pamphlet constitutes a violation of any law."

On Aug. 29, St. Louis replied. It said Missouri statutes against libel were the only ones that might be violated. Libel was defined as "malicious defamation," the St. Louis office said. "There is no doubt that 'Storm Warnings' would fall in that category," it admitted.

But the St. Louis office noted that truth was a defense. It said each statement in the pamphlet "contains a basis in fact." Beyond this, the memo noted, if the activists didn't know who was putting the stuff out, they couldn't very well sue.

"The victims cannot take legal action against an unknown publisher," it observed.

The St. Louis FBI offered to change the wording. It appeared to offer to choose a different black activist as the target, but the deletions in the documents make it impossible to tell.

But headquarters still had reservations. It fired off a memo citing the possibility that the plan might violate local laws against anonymous mailings. "It is not desirable that local authorities should ever have to conduct an investigation as a result of counter-intelligence

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activity," the memo from headquarters said.

On Oct. 1, 1969, the St. Louis office replied. It said there were almost 100 municipalities in St. Louis County, where the mailings were to take place. Surveying the ordinances of each would cost too much time and money, it said. "Accordingly, the St. Louis division is withdrawing its recommendation for authorization for this particular counter-intelligence program," the St. Louis office said.

The memos were depicted as being from the special agent in charge in St. Louis. The agent in charge of the St. Louis office at that time was J. Wallace LaPrade. LaPrade is now in charge of the New York FBI field office. He refused yesterday to discuss the St. Louis operations.

A spokesman for LaPrade said he denied "any personal involvement" in the St. Louis projects. But LaPrade refused to discuss whether he had authorized, approved, or known about the local activities.

The suggestions for disrupting the Black Panthers was in response to an appeal for ideas from FBI headquarters. On Oct. 11, 1968, the St. Louis office responded.

One suggestion was a technique commonly known in police circles as the "snitch jacket." It takes advantage of the fears of activists that police spies are in their midst. The technique involves

falsely fingering a member of a group as a "snitch."

The St. Louis FBI said it could be done this way:

"Have law enforcement agents pick up a Black Panther lesser official at a location away from their headquarters, drive him in a law enforcement vehicle to a location near the headquarters, and then let him out of the vehicle as one of the agents says in a loud voice, 'Thanks for the information, Willie (or whatever his name is), we'll pay you again next week.'"

St. Louis also suggested taking an FBI-embossed envelop with one Panther's name hand-printed on it and planting it in other Panther's car.

Another suggestion from St. Louis was: "Have a Negro agent or male clerk telephonically contact the residence of a Black Panther during late hours, and ask for the Panther's wife by her first name. In an ensuing conversation, the caller should attempt to leave the impression with the Panther that he is the current lover of the wife."

FBI headquarters replied that the ideas "have merit." blacked out in the copies of the pamphlet given to the Post-Dispatch.

One, referred to as a black extremist, was described in the pamphlet as "a part-time forger and full-time agitator." It said he controlled three black militant groups in St. Louis. "He does not associate with Communists because he considers them 'too tame.'" the pamphlet said.

The white activist was described as "a New York Jew. . . . This draftdodger and SDS kingpin directs the student rioters, draft resisters, and campus anarchists. . . .

Local Reds and pinkos are his constant companions. He wants to start a chain of hippie houses through the Midwest so he can peddle his subversive literature and narcotics."

The St. Louis FBI office asked permission to send 100 copies to right-wing groups and individuals in the St. Louis area. It said the pamphlet would alert right wingers "to the relatively unknown agitators in the area." If it fell into the hands of the new left, it might keep them so busy figuring out how to deal with it that they would have less time to spend "in plotting, recruiting and fund-raising," the memo said.

The Senate Intelligence Committee in its report last year, identified the "snitch jacket" as a technique carrying a serious risk of harm to the target. A Black Panther suspected of being a police informer was killed in Connecticut in 1969.

The Senate report said the technique had been used against the Panthers. There was no indication where within the FBI the suggestion had originated. The St. Louis FBI office used the technique against the Rev. Charles Koen, former head of the St. Louis Black Liberators, in 1969 as part of an attempt to undercut his leadership. That incident was revealed in the Senate hearings two years ago.

The St. Louis civil rights group ACTION, headed by Percy Green, also was a target of FBI efforts.

In a memo dated Feb. 26, 1969, the St. Louis FBI office noted that ACTION published a newspaper every two weeks. The FBI got 10 copies of every issue, the memo said.

While the newspaper's circulation was small "it can be expected to improve its stature," the FBI said. It said the paper "promotes racial hatred" and added, "This division is considering the best way to blunt the effectiveness of the newspaper and the activities of ACTION."

ANOTHER FBI memo said ACTION "is apparently drawing close to the Black Liberators." It said the St. Louis FBI "is attempting to formulate a plan which would frustrate any strong degree of cooperation" between them.

On the Veiled Prophet demonstrations, the St. Louis FBI made a proposal in late 1969. It noted that an editorial in the St. Louis American, a black weekly newspaper, had criticized the demonstrations. It suggested anonymously mailing the editorial to all white members of ACTION as well as white ministers who supported the group.

The FBI hoped the editorial would convince the whites not to take part in the demonstrations. But FBI headquarters denied permission. It noted that the editorial — while criticizing the demonstrations — also criticized the Veiled Prophet affair.

"The bureau feels that the material to be mailed would not really accomplish the purpose sought," the FBI headquarters said.

An Editorial

(See Below)

FOR HANOI? OR FOR AMERICA?

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch are unmistakably opposed philosophically; i.e. on matters of government, especially fiscal responsibility; on matters of welfare, particularly where immorality is involved, and on other notable issues. Many fine newspapers throughout the nation share the views of The Globe-Democrat.

The Globe-Democrat accepts the inevitability that reasonable persons, and thus, reasonable media organizations, will differ. Difference of opinion is indigenous to a rational world.

Thus, The Globe-Democrat has refrained, as a matter of policy, from commenting — favorably or unfavorably — on the conduct or opinions of other members of the media.

In Wednesday's issue, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch published a cheap shot, a biased and slanted item about The St. Louis Globe-Democrat. In its normally hypocritical manner, the Post-Dispatch presented material about The Globe-Democrat as a news story, when in fact it was an editorial in a bogeyman's costume. Had the Post-Dispatch had the journalistic character and professionalism to publish its Federal Bureau of Investigation story as an editorial, The Globe-Democrat would have respected the afternoon paper's prerogative to express its opinion, and we would not have commented about it.

The Post-Dispatch editorialized story said The Globe-Democrat in recent years had published news material about student dissidents, especially in St. Louis County at Lindbergh High School. The Post-Dispatch story said the student dissident stories were "planted" by the FBI and implied they were the result of "conspiratorial" ties between The Globe-Democrat and the FBI. The story blatantly implied a nefarious alliance between The Globe-Democrat and the FBI for unworthy purposes.

It is most certainly true that The Globe-Democrat has published news stories in the past about dissident student activities; in the St. Louis area, in the Midwest and throughout the United States and the world. To the best of my knowledge and recollection, these stories originated in the normal manner incident to any news story from an interested reader who notified the city editor, a parent, a student, a witness or scores of other sources.

For the Post-Dispatch news story to state that the FBI arranged stories in The Globe-Democrat through contacts with the publisher of The Globe-Democrat is a villainous lie typical of the depraved thinking of a Communist "Big Lie" technique — designed to undermine the fabric of a country. It is true that I personally knew J. Edgar Hoover, the long-time, respected director of the FBI, and enjoyed an hour or more visit with him in Washington only a few days before his death in May of 1972. It is a privilege to identify Clarence M. Kelley, present FBI director and former chief of police of Kansas City, as a friend. Neither Mr. Hoover nor Mr. Kelley at any time provided me any information

relative to any news stories, past or present. Mr. Hoover and Mr. Kelley have never at any time communicated news material to, or made any request of Martin L. Duggan, editor of the editorial page of The Globe-Democrat, or George A. Killenberg, managing editor of The Globe-Democrat.

We are at a loss to account for the FBI memoranda, unless the explanation is that some overzealous agent sought to advance himself by taking credit for what The Globe-Democrat produced in its normal pursuits.

In the normal course of community, social and business activities and news work, we have known a succession of FBI agents in charge in the St. Louis office. At no time has any of these men of impeccable character and ability ever "planted" a story in The Globe-Democrat by way of my office or that of Mr. Duggan's or Mr. Killenberg's. Quite the contrary, the St. Louis office of the FBI has consistently maintained a frequently frustrating reluctance to release news material to The Globe-Democrat.

The Post-Dispatch story, to the contrary, emits a barnyard stench which is a measure of a good deal of that paper's pretense at news coverage: Rot.

This is an appropriate occasion to offer a statement expanding on The Globe-Democrat's news and editorial policy, expressed daily in our masthead. The Globe-Democrat's purpose is to serve the interests of our community, state and nation. The Globe-Democrat's intention is to be supportive, generally, of commu-

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nity institutions. It is not, as it appears to be with the other daily in St. Louis, nitpickingly destructive, denigrating and demeaning by repeated irresponsibility and uninformed criticism. We believe in the United States of America.

We believe in the integrity and the future of the United States, including the integrity and objectives of the FBI. During the late 1960s and early 1970s when universities were being bombed and burned, and in some cases innocent citizens murdered; when banks were being bombed and burned; when a hall in Congress was bombed; when peaceful, personal access to national political conventions was being denied to orderly Americans, The Globe-Democrat believed and still believes that it was the duty of the FBI to apprehend those threatening the internal security of the nation.

If The Globe-Democrat played a constructive role during this period, this newspaper is proud of its participation and contribution.

The Globe-Democrat cherishes its role as a supporter of the American system. The Globe-Democrat suggests that the frequently slanted news coverage in the Post-Dispatch, most especially its recent 10-part, Page One Dudman series paying tribute to North Vietnam's oppressive and dehumanizing leadership out of Hanoi, is a shameful disservice to St. Louis and America.

We prefer pro-Americanism.

G. DUNCAN BAUMAN
Publisher

St. Louis Globe-Democrat

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Proposed 'Targeting' Radicals Here

By ROBERT ADAMS

A Washington Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Nov. 25 — The St. Louis FBI office devised a plan in 1969 to scare two St. Louis radicals away from politics by making them think that heavily armed, right-wing Minutemen were after them, FBI papers show.

"It is felt that this action would be more than a harassment," the St. Louis office wrote as it tried to promote the idea. It asked FBI headquarters for permission to send the radicals copies of literature published by the Minutemen.

On the literature, the FBI had drawn small human figures — apparently to represent the students — with what could be taken as rifle targets on them. Headquarters vetoed the plan.

The scheme surfaced among the 52,600 pages of FBI documents on its counterintelligence program — Cointelepro — made available to the Post-Dispatch and other news organizations this week under the Freedom of Information Act. The FBI's program was designed to disrupt black militants and the New Left organizations.

The papers show that former Missouri state Rep. Richard N. Marshall of Webster Groves secretly exchanged information with the FBI about student radicals in the late 1960s. In a telephone interview, Marshall acknowledged his role and said he had no regrets.

The documents show also that the Springfield, Ill., FBI office suggested trying to use U.S. Rep. Thomas F. Railsback, R-Ill., as an outlet for disseminating derogatory information about radicals. Railsback said that he never participated in such a scheme nor was he ever asked to.

The "Minutemen" scheme was outlined in a memo from the St. Louis FBI office to headquarters dated Jan. 22, 1969.

The memo noted that two activists in the St. Louis area—whose names were blacked out in the copies given to the Post-Dispatch—have repeatedly expressed concern to established FBI sources about "potential activities against them by the Minutemen."

The Minutemen organization was a heavily armed group of ultra-conservatives who talked about an armed struggle to save America from subversives.

Its leader, Robert DePugh, was at that time being sought by the FBI.

DePugh and an assistant had been convicted in 1966 of violating the Federal Firearms Act. Later in 1969, a secret arsenal of more than 100 rifles, kegs of explosives, and other weapons was found at Minutemen headquarters.

Fears by the students about the Minutemen appeared to be groundless, the FBI noted. Nevertheless, the FBI set out to exploit those fears as a means of frightening the radicals away from politics. One of the radicals was described as a leader of the St. Louis branch of Students for a Democratic Society.

As part of the plan, the FBI obtained two copies of a Minuteman paper branding the United Nations as communist. On one, FBI agents drew a small human figure with a circle and cross-hairs on the chest. The initials "M.L." — presumably those of one of the radicals — were written underneath.

On the second copy, the FBI drew a small stick-figure enclosed in a circle, with a black dot in the center. The initials "R.F." were written underneath.

Another piece of Minuteman matter the FBI planned to send anonymously to the radicals spoke of "our socialist enemy." It said that "any means necessary is morally justified to defeat the enemy . . ."

The St. Louis FBI office said the two radicals were "both sensitive, introspective individuals." It said they "might consider curtailing their New Left activities somewhat if they thought their actions were opposed by the Minutemen."

The Memo ended: "This action would not entail any embarrassment to the Bureau."

On Jan. 29, 1969, however, FBI headquarters said no. Headquarters noted that the Minutemen, themselves, might be the subject of investigation by local authorities. It was "not desirable," headquarters said, "that the Bureau enter into any activity that would complicate or confuse this investigation."

Former state Rep. Marshall, a Webster Groves lawyer, is a Republican. During his six years in the Missouri

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House from 1966 to 1972, he was outspoken in his condemnation of the student disorders that swept the campuses.

Marshall was first mentioned in a memo prepared by the St. Louis FBI office Feb. 14, 1969. His name was deleted from the documents given to the Post-Dispatch this week, but a previously published copy of one of the memos which was given to the radical Socialist Workers' Party as part of their suit against the FBI, left Marshall's name in.

The Post-Dispatch reported last spring that the FBI said that Marshall's bills to crack down on students were among the "tangible results" of the FBI's program. But the new documents shed additional light on the close but secret cooperation between Marshall and the FBI during that period.

The Feb. 14 memo noted that Marshall had been a trusted associate of an FBI agent, whose name was deleted, since 1951. It noted that Marshall was trying to build a case for his bills designed to crack down on students. Specifically, Marshall had proposed making it a felony for teachers in Missouri to incite campus disruptions, and a misdemeanor for students to take part in them. He called also for an investigation of student unrest.

The St. Louis FBI office asked permission to give Marshall — "on a highly confidential basis" — copies of leaflets distributed by students at Washington University during disturbances there, and other information that might be of value to him. It said Marshall had "indicated he is aware of the necessity for the strictest of confidential relationships in this matter."

Marshall promised that he would obtain a tape-recording of a speech by radical Tom Hayden at Washington University and would turn it over to the FBI, along with other information, the

memo said.

Eight days later, FBI headquarters gave the St. Louis office permission to cooperate with Marshall. It asked that Marshall be told of the need for "the strictest confidence." It also cautioned the St. Louis office against giving Marshall guidance on his legislation aside from providing him with material put out by the students.

In a later memo, however, the St. Louis office listed among the "tangible results" of its efforts: "(Marshall) has several bills pending in the Missouri State House of Representatives which involve control of new-left activities on college campuses."

Marshall told the Post-Dispatch he introduced the bills on his own, and not at the behest of the FBI.

But Marshall acknowledged cooperating with the FBI. He said he gave several tape-recordings to them, along with radical leaflets and bulletins.

"I don't recall their ever giving me anything," Marshall said in a telephone interview. "I supplied the bureau with any evidence I had of people planning acts of violence."

"I think anybody who wouldn't would be derelict in their duty."

Marshall said he hadn't known at the time about the Cointelpro program to disrupt radicals. "I can't feel any regret about my actions because somebody also might have done something that was improper," he said. "I was doing what was called for."

Marshall said he also provided information about student disturbances to other authorities, such as the St. Louis and St. Louis County police and the Missouri Highway Patrol.

The memo on Railsback from the Springfield FBI office was dated March 23, 1970.

It said that Railsback, who represents

the Rock Island, Ill., area, was an advocate in Congress of strong law enforcement measures. It said he "is also considered a close friend of the FBI" and "a conservative in political philosophy" who represented a conservative constituency. Actually, Railsback is considered moderate-to-liberal among Republicans.

The memo also mentioned an aide to Railsback, whose name was deleted. The aide was apparently Ben Polk, who ran Railsback's Rock Island office then and who is now a Republican member of the Illinois House of Representatives.

The memo spoke of "the dissemination of appropriate material" about the New Left and black militants. It said both

Railsback and the aide "would be excellent outlets for material of this nature."

FBI headquarters, on April 10, 1975, said it agreed that Railsback and the aide "could be useful by furnishing support as specific problems arise." But it said the FBI shouldn't deluge them with derogatory general information about radical movements. It said public source material might be given to them as specific occasions arose.

Both Railsback and Polk said the FBI never tried to use them as conduits for information to discredit militants.

They noted that Railsback's district office in Rock Island was in the same building as the FBI. As a result, they said, they were personally friendly with FBI agents in Rock Island.

But Railsback added: "They never made one request of me to disseminate anything." He said they never asked him to introduce any bills or resolutions in Congress.

He noted that there was little or no radical activity in the Rock Island area during that time. "So I don't think I was a very logical choice," Railsback said.

Railsback said he had been an admirer of the late J. Edgar Hoover, who directed the FBI, but Railsback was sharply critical of attempts to break up marriages of black leaders and other techniques used but the FBI in the Cointelpro operation. He said he favored more effective congressional oversight to make certain the FBI stayed in bounds.

Robert A. Wickwire, a former FBI agent who was in charge of the Rock Island FBI office then, said he never tried to use Railsback as a conduit for information and knew of no such efforts.

"That's absolutely brand new to me," he said of the Springfield FBI memo.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Another Hair-Raising Scheme Fell Through For FBI Here

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23 — Some agencies have a thing about beards.

The Central Intelligence Agency thought Fidel Castro's beard was one of the secrets of his charisma. So the CIA proposed slipping a depilatory into Castro's boots to make his beard fall out.

The plan fell through, just like a plan on beards forth by the St. Louis office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

In 1969, FBI memos show, agents saw "a scathing article" against beards in Muhammad Speaks, a Black Muslim newspaper. The article was by Elijah Muhammad, the Muslim leader. He condemned beards as "germ-carriers" and said they were "non-modern."

Wouldn't it be clever, the St. Louis FBI thought, to send that article around?

(Anonymously, of course.) If the black militants who wore beards saw it, the article would cause friction between them and Muhammad the FBI thought.

Hence, the proposal: Would the FBI headquarters in Washington kindly ask all field offices to send to the Chicago office (where the newspaper was published) the names and addresses of all black militants, throughout the United States, who wear beards?

Headquarters responded on July 23, noting that the article had already received wide distribution. Further distribution, headquarters said, "would not have sufficient effect to justify the expenses."

—Robert Adams

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FBI Says It Used Globe-Democrat To Discredit 'New Left'

By CURT MATTHEWS
A Washington Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23—The Federal Bureau of Investigation fed information and editorial viewpoints to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat in a campaign against so-called 'new left' organizations in the St. Louis area in the late 1960s and early 1970s, according to documents made public by the FBI.

"The feeding of well-chosen information to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, a local newspaper, whose editor and associate editor are extremely friendly to the bureau and the St. Louis office, has also been used in the past and it is contemplated that this technique might be used to good advantage," the St. Louis office of the FBI said in a memorandum to the Washington office of the FBI in May 1968.

The memo was in response to one from Washington asking the St. Louis office to list the techniques it planned to use to immobilize "new left" organizations.

The Globe-Democrat was one of two news outlets in the St. Louis area that the FBI sought to use in an effort to discredit anti-war and anti-government organizations in the late 1960s and early 1970s. That was when protests against United States involvement in the Vietnam War were intense.

The Community Press of Ellisville, Mo., a weekly newspaper formerly published in West St. Louis County, was the other area publication that the FBI says it used to circulate information and editorial comment.

The effort by the FBI's St. Louis office to exercise influence through local news media under a counter-intelligence program known as "Cointelpro" was part of

a national effort to use news outlets to disrupt, discredit or embarrass certain individuals and organizations, the FBI document says.

G Duncan Bauman, publisher of the Globe-Democrat, said yesterday, "I apologize not one whit for what appears to be support of the FBI and its objectives. There is just no question that I believe in the integrity of the FBI. I have in the past and I do now.

"I believe in the objectives of the bureau. The Globe-Democrat is and always has been appreciative of the way the FBI is attempting to secure this country against internal subversion. And I think that anyone who encourages internal subversion is approaching treason."

Bauman said, however, that he had not been approached by members of the FBI in St. Louis and asked to print news stories or editorials regarding the activities of "new left" organizations. He said he had no recollection of discussing such matters with agents in the FBI's St. Louis office.

The documents made public by the FBI say the Globe-Democrat helped to prevent the Students for a Democratic Society, a radical student organization of the 1960s, from soliciting new members in St. Louis County high schools.

On Oct. 10, 1968, the St. Louis office of the FBI sent a memorandum to the Washington office of the bureau noting that SDS had announced its intention to gain support in St. Louis County high schools.

The memo says, "No particular high school was mentioned. However, as a result of newspaper articles which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Lindbergh High School canceled (A)

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speaking engagement at Lindbergh High School and has resulted in countering any further attempts by SDS to infiltrate that school."

The memo went on to say that the St. Louis office believed that publicity about SDS was an effective way to thwart the organization.

The St. Louis office claimed success in frustrating the SDS in St. Louis in another memo to Washington dated Oct. 18, 1968. An FBI agent in Washington appended the following note to that memo:

"St. Louis suggested that should information be received concerning efforts by SDS to infiltrate other high schools, this information be furnished to (name deleted) who would use it to frustrate their efforts by exposing them in his paper. The 'St. Louis Globe-Democrat' has been especially cooperative with the bureau in the past. Its Publisher, Mr. (name deleted) is on the Special Correspondents List. The information contained in the enclosures contains background on SDS which can be of value to Mr. (deleted)."

A spokesman for the FBI said yesterday that the special correspondents list contained about 8,500 names of persons throughout the U.S. who were considered "special friends" of the bureau. He said it essentially was a mailing list and that those on it received various FBI reports and speeches made by the director. The FBI discontinued the list two years ago.

George Killenberg, managing editor of the Globe-Democrat, said Bauman was the publisher of the newspaper at the time the memorandum was written and that his name was the one deleted by the FBI.

Bauman said he had no recollection of

any dealings with the FBI regarding attempts by the SDS to infiltrate St. Louis-area high schools. He said he was unaware that he was on the special correspondents list.

Both Killenberg and Martin Duggan, editor of the editorial page of the Globe-Democrat and former associate managing editor of the newspaper, said they had no special ties with the FBI in St. Louis beyond those normally maintained by journalists.

Both men said they had not been approached by anyone in the St. Louis office of the FBI asking that news or editorials be published.

"There is one thing upon which I can speak with authority," Killenberg said yesterday. "We have never published any tip or any information without its being verified and corroborated."

Duggan, who has been editor of the editorial page since 1974, said, "Under no circumstances, over the last 20 years at least, has anyone from the FBI approached me to do a news story or to write an editorial."

In two of its quarterly reports on the Cointelpro effort in 1969, the St. Louis office of the FBI informed Washington that "numerous anti-new left editorials have appeared in St. Louis newspapers which in part can be traced to information provided since the inception of this program with bureau authority to news media contacts in St. Louis."

There is only passing reference to the St. Louis Post-Dispatch in correspondence between the FBI in Washington and its office in St. Louis. In each case the reference only mentions that a particular incident was reported in the Post-Dispatch.

As reported previously, the late J.

Edgar Hoover, former director of the FBI, told top officials in the bureau in 1971 to have "absolutely nothing to do with" the Post-Dispatch and three other newspapers—the New York Times, the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times.

The late William C. Sullivan, former assistant to Hoover and for many years the No. 2 man in the bureau, said agents within the FBI understood Hoover's position to mean that they were to be polite to reporters who made inquiries but were to give as little information as possible.

"We were to be civil and polite," Sullivan said in an interview in 1973 with the Post-Dispatch, "but to give out nothing more than the time of day to reporters from these newspapers."

The FBI documents say the St. Louis office sought the help of the Community Press because its publisher, A. Gardner Hausman, had expressed a desire to fight new left activities in St. Louis County.

A memo from the St. Louis office to the FBI in Washington on Dec. 16, 1968, said "It is believed that any exposure the Students for a Democratic Society might receive in a local press, such as the Community Press, could do much to counteract the activity of the SDS in these areas."

The memorandum continued, "Mr. (name deleted) was furnished a copy of the SDS article appearing in the October 1968 Reader's Digest and also a copy of the article entitled 'An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism.' Mr. (name deleted) expressed considerable interest in this information and stated

that he would consider writing an article about SDS and also an editorial."

A later memo on March 31, 1969, refers to the Dec. 16 communication and says, "In a communication to the bureau 12/16/68, the bureau was advised that Mr. (name deleted's) weekly newspaper, St. Louis County, Mo., contacted the St. Louis office in an effort to do something to combat the 'new left' and particularly the SDS."

Hausman said yesterday in a telephone interview that he could recall no visit or discussion with representatives of the St. Louis FBI office directly relating to the material in the memo. He said, "We worked in cooperation with various government agencies, including the FBI, as a normal part of our operation." He added that he had had some dealings with members of the St. Louis office of the FBI but could not specifically recall any requests to publish articles or editorials.

He said that although he had been the publisher, two employees — Lynn Weatherman and Vince Wood — had been primarily responsible for editorial content and production in 1968.

The Springfield, Ill., office of the FBI also informed the bureau headquarters in Washington in 1968 that it intended to use the press to combat anti-war and anti-government protesters.

The Springfield FBI office explained its planned counter-intelligence program to Washington in a memo dated May 31, 1968, and noted: "Springfield division has contacts with friendly newspapers which have been cooperative in the past."

But no specific newspapers were mentioned in the documents from the Springfield office.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

FBI Tried To Hide Ties With Globe-Democrat

By CURT MATTHEWS
and ROBERT ADAMS
Washington Correspondents
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Dec. 1 — The Federal Bureau of Investigation took steps to keep secret its relationship with the St. Louis Globe-Democrat during the middle and late 1960s, according to FBI documents obtained by the Post-Dispatch.

Agents in St. Louis were reminded repeatedly in messages from FBI headquarters in Washington that the identity of the bureau as the source of news tips and editorial suggestions to the Globe-Democrat must be kept secret.

The FBI documents show that the bureau considered its access to the Globe-Democrat an important part of the counter-intelligence operation in St. Louis against so-called "new left" organizations, dissidents, and persons suspected of being Communists.

Numerous FBI messages marked "urgent," some sent in code, discuss the use of the Globe-Democrat to expose or

embarrass individuals in St. Louis.

The FBI papers cover the period — the 1960s and early 1970s — during which the bureau's special counter-intelligence program Cointelpro was in operation. The documents were among 52,600 pages of material about the program that were made available to the Post-Dispatch and other news organizations under the Freedom of Information Act.

The documents say that the newspaper cooperated with attempts by the FBI to:

- Focus public attention on a visiting "Marxist theoretician" who came to St. Louis to speak at several universities.

- Expose the identity of two men who attended the 1966 convention of the Communist Party in New York.

- Question individuals under surveillance by the FBI.

At least one reporter and a high-level news executive at the Globe-Democrat were looked upon by the St. Louis FBI office as key outlets in the mid-1960s for news the bureau wanted published, according to the FBI documents.

Denny Walsh, a former Globe-Demo-

crat reporter now working in Sacramento, Calif., confirmed that he was the reporter referred to in a number of FBI documents stating that the Globe-Democrat was helpful in carrying out counter-intelligence operations in St. Louis.

Walsh said also that the late Richard H. Amberg, then the publisher of the Globe-Democrat, had a "very cordial" relationship with the FBI office in St. Louis. Walsh said Amberg was "beyond doubt" the news executive referred to in numerous FBI documents as "very cooperative and discreet." (Amberg died on Sept. 4, 1967.)

Several attempts in recent days to obtain comments from G. Duncan Bauman, now publisher of the Globe-Democrat, and other news executives at the newspaper regarding the FBI documents were unsuccessful.

Other former Globe-Democrat employees who were made familiar with the contents of the documents agreed that Walsh and Amberg were the Globe-Democrat employees whom the FBI referred to frequently as "friendly" and

cooperative."

Before making the documents available to the Post-Dispatch, the bureau blacked out all names to protect the privacy of individuals mentioned. However, in one document relating to the Globe-Democrat, the name of Amberg is readable through the blackout.

The memo says: "On 6/24/66 MR. RICHARD H. AMBERG, publisher of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, SLMO, was furnished information regarding LANDBERG'S attendance at the DCA Convention and CP Convention, and the possibility of a news article based on an interview with him following his return to St. Louis was discussed."

The "Landberg" referred to in the message was Ronald I. Landberg, former St. Louis-area coordinator for the M.E.B. Dubois Club. The initials DCA refer to the Dubois Club of America; "CP" was bureau shorthand for Communist Party.

The memo continues, "Specifically the

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Pl-6A, St. Louis
Post-Dispatch,
St. Louis, Missouri

Date: 12/1/77

Edition: Final

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: SL

100 - 21213 - 200

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ST. LOUIS

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FBI/DOJ

possibility of tying in closely the CP with DCA was discussed. On 6/30/66, Mr. AMBERG was advised LANDBERG returned to St. Louis from CP convention and his home address was given him."

The memo concludes, "MR. AMBERG was specifically advised that under no circumstances should the fact that the FBI had furnished this data be publicized."

A Globe-Democrat reporter interviewed Landberg on his return from the Communist Party Convention in New York. An article about his activities appeared on Page 3 of the July 2-3 weekend edition of the Globe-Democrat. An editorial relating to the article on Landberg appeared in the same edition.

On July 7, 1966, the St. Louis office of the FBI sent copies of the article and the editorial to the bureau headquarters in Washington saying, "Enclosed herewith for the bureau and New York are copies of . . . items which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, Saturday-Sunday issue of July 2-3."

Following that sentence is a handwritten asterisk with the notation, "Thru cooperation of (name deleted)." Walsh said, "It is almost beyond doubt that the name deleted is Amberg's."

Walsh said his ties with the FBI as a

'After I wrote a series of stories in 1964 about CORE in St. Louis, I was more or less adopted by the bureau office there.'

Globe-Democrat reporter dated from the early 1960s.

He said, "After I wrote a series of stories in 1964 about CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality) in St. Louis, I was more or less adopted by the bureau office there. They would call me with stuff from time to time and suggest that I do a story, or they would identify some guy as a Communist and suggest I look into it."

Walsh recalled that in 1965, he had been called by the St. Louis office of the FBI and told that Robert J. Nissen, then acting general manager of St. Louis' public television station, KETC, Channel 9, had a Communist background and should be exposed. Walsh said he had looked into the allegation and had done some stories. Nissen subsequently resigned from his job.

Nissen, now a communications consultant in New York, said in a telephone interview that the content of some of Walsh's articles in 1965 and the line of questioning Walsh had used had made it clear that some government agency had provided information to the Globe-Democrat.

Nissen said that neither he nor his wife had ever been a member of the Communist Party or in sympathy with Communist ideology.

"We were quite active in the peace

movement in the early 1950s," Nissen said, "and at that time the very word 'peace' was considered subversive. The United States was fighting a war in Korea, and to speak of peace was counter to national policy."

One of the Globe-Democrat articles on Nissen focused on his discharge from the Marine Corps in 1954 under "other than honorable conditions." Nissen told the Post-Dispatch that he had appealed the discharge classification. After a long review procedure, he said, the Department of the Navy granted him an honorable discharge in 1967.

Nissen said he and his wife had been among the victims of the anti-Communist movement aroused by the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, D-Wis., in the early 1950s. "It was a very fearful time," Nissen said, "a time of persecution and injustice."

Another incident recalled by Walsh and detailed in the FBI documents began with an "urgent" coded message from the Washington office of the FBI to the St. Louis office on Feb. 11, 1965. The message suggested that a news executive at the Globe-Democrat would be able to arrange for a reporter and a photographer to cover the arrival in St. Louis of Herbert Aptheker, a Marxist theoretician and a leader of the U.S. Communist Party, who was to speak at several universities in the St. Louis area.

The same memo noted that the news executive, whose name has been blacked out, could "alert Channel 2-TV." Channel 2, KTVI-TV, is owned by the Newhouse group of newspapers, which also owns the Globe-Democrat.

Walsh says the only news executive at the Globe-Democrat in 1965 who exercised responsibility at both the newspaper and the television station was Amberg.

Walsh recalled that he personally had been alerted by the FBI regarding Aptheker's visit and that he and former Globe-Democrat editorial writer Patrick J. Buchanan, now a nationally syndicated columnist, had met Aptheker at Lambert Field on his arrival. The Globe-Democrat published a Page 1 article, with photographs, about Aptheker's visit.

Walsh recalled that at the airport, he and Buchanan had found that Aptheker was being met by Theodor Rosebury, a prominent bacteriologist at Washington University, who is now deceased. The reporters made a great deal of the Aptheker-Rosebury relationship, Walsh said.

This was picked up by the FBI in St. Louis and relayed to the Washington bureau office in a memorandum dated April 4, 1965. The memo notes that then Washington University Chancellor Thomas Eliot was put under pressure as a result of the incident.

"Chancellor Thomas Eliot of the university defended the institution's right to maintain an atmosphere in which 'all opinions can be aired,'" the FBI memo says. "He evidently felt obliged to make some statement because of the furor which developed locally over the publi-

Memorandum

TO : SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-16708) DATE: 7/14/66

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

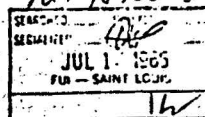
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re St. Louis airtel to Bureau 6/15/66 and Burad to St. Louis 6/21/66.

A typed letter was sent to GUS HALL, 23 W. 26th St., New York, N.Y., and marked personal on 6/22/66.

On 6/24/66, [REDACTED] of the "St. Louis Globe Democrat", SLMO, was furnished information regarding [REDACTED]'s attendance at the DCA Convention and CP Convention, and the possibility of a news article based on an interview with him following his return to St. Louis was discussed. Specifically the possibility of tying in closely the CP with DCA was discussed. On 6/30/66, [REDACTED] was advised [REDACTED] returned to St. Louis from the CP Convention and his home address was given him. [REDACTED] was specifically advised that under no circumstances should the fact that the FBI had furnished this data be publicized.

BAH/rc
(1)



INTELLIGENCE ADVISORY: A copy of a Federal Bureau of Investigation memorandum, dated 7/14/66, discussing FBI contacts with the Globe-Democrat. The FBI blacked out the names before releasing the document, but the names were legible underneath. (UPI Telephoto)

cized association of Aptheker and Rosebury."

The memo continues: "It may be noted that Dr. Rosebury was among those who helped form Citizens for Liberal Action, which is now active in protesting United States military action in Vietnam."

The memo notes also that "The 'Globe' in an editorial answered Eliot's statement and berated his failure to disassociate the university 'from the likes of Rosebury'."

Buchanan, who subsequently became a political adviser and speech writer for President Nixon, said he remembered the Aptheker incident in 1965 as one of the few times when he had acted as a reporter rather than an editorial writer for the Globe-Democrat.

"We were tipped off that Aptheker was coming to town," Buchanan said. "I don't know where the tip came from; it didn't come to me."

Buchanan said he and Walsh had been roommates in St. Louis at the time.

On Feb. 7, 1967, the St. Louis office of the FBI sent a five-page memo to bureau headquarters in Washington asking for authority to furnish information to the Globe-Democrat about Hershel J. Walker, one-time chairman of the Missouri district of the U.S. Communist Party. In 1967, Walker was active in an anti-war organization known as the St. Louis Citizens for Peace in Vietnam.

The memo was headed "suggested counter-intelligence action against Hershel James Walker," and began, "Authority is requested to furnish the information set forth below to (name deleted) of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, a St. Louis daily newspaper, or in the alternative to (name deleted)."

The memo continues, "It is hoped this may provide a basis for a feature article in the 'Globe' regarding Hershel James Walker."

The memo further states that at least one of the contacts at the Globe-Democrat "has been utilized very successfully in the past in counter-intelligence activity" and "has been very cooperative and discreet in past contacts on other matters."

The memo said the alternative contact at the Globe was being suggested because the prime contact was frequently absent from St. Louis for long periods.

Walsh said he believed the memo referred to him and Amberg. Walker, who still lives in St. Louis, said he recalled having been interviewed by Walsh on several occasions, although Walsh said he could not specifically recollect having talked with Walker.

The five-page memo says the FBI field office intended to provide the Globe-Democrat with personal data about Walker, his known connection with Communist Party members, and a list of 14 questions that the reporter would be given to ask Walker during an interview.

Walsh said he had no specific recollection of receiving the material mentioned in the FBI memo. But he said that on occasion, the FBI had suggested questions that should be put to persons the bureau wanted interviewed.

The Post-Dispatch reported last week that in May 1968, the St. Louis office of the FBI had sent a memo to the bureau in Washington, saying:

"The feeding of well-chosen information to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, a local newspaper, whose editor and associate editor are extremely friendly to the bureau and the St. Louis office, has also been used in the past and it is contemplated that this technique might be used to good advantage."

The memo was in response to one from Washington asking the St. Louis office to list the techniques it planned to use to frustrate and immobilize "new left" organizations.

Some FBI documents prepared by the St. Louis office refer to Amberg as "Editor" of the Globe-Democrat, although his title was publisher.

'We were quite active in the peace movement

at that time the very word 'peace' was considered subversive.'

NW: 15289 DocId: 34700117 1950s 72

Among the questions the FBI hoped would be put to Walker by the Globe-Democrat were:

—"Did you participate in an anti-Vietnam parade in downtown St. Louis on Oct. 5, 1966?"

—"Were you in the picket line when Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey spoke in October, 1965 at the field house at Washington University?"

—"Does the Communist Party in St. Louis support Russia or China in their current ideological struggle?"

Another memo, this one dated Oct. 14, 1966, says the St. Louis office of the FBI also considered preparing questions that it wanted put to the Dubois Club's Landberg.

The memo says, "Consideration is being given to requesting bureau authority for a published feature article in the St. Louis 'Globe-Democrat,' daily newspaper. Appropriate background information and suggested questions would be furnished to a SAC (special FBI agent in charge) contact who has cooperated previously in this program."

The memo does not indicate who the contact was or whether he was furnished with the "suggested questions."

On Feb. 20, 1967, the Washington office of the FBI authorized the St. Louis office to proceed with the plan to have a Globe-

*'We were tipped off
that Aptheker was
coming to town. I
don't know where the
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didn't come to me.'*

Democrat reporter interview Walker.

On March 17, 1967, the St. Louis office informed Washington that someone at the Globe-Democrat "was contacted in accordance with recent letter. He was most receptive and cooperative."

The memo went on to inform Washington that the March 11-12 edition of the newspaper contained an article based on an interview with Walker.

In July, 1967, the St. Louis office sent a memo to Washington listing the published interview with Walker as an example of the "tangible results" of the counter-intelligence operation in St. Louis.

The memo says, "The steady publicity over the past few years, pointing to varied CP (Communist Party) activity and identifying CP leaders, has had its effect. An example of such publicity, referred to earlier in this letter, was the bureau-approved counter-intelligence action involving an interview with Walker by a reporter for the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis daily newspaper. An ensuing article in the 'Globe' 3/11-12/67 identified Walker as head of the CP in Missouri and an admitted member of the executive committee of SLCPV (St. Louis Citizens for Peace in Vietnam).

**St. Louis
American****Editorials****Tampered Evidence?**

J. Edgar Hoover, the late director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, hated the Black Panthers. He publicly branded that organization as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." In recent years, the FBI has backed away from that assessment, but while Hoover was heading the bureau, much time and attention was devoted to breaking up that organization. In documents obtained by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch under the Freedom of Information Law, there is evidence that the FBI made plans to disrupt the Black Panther organization. The FBI learned that different branches of the organization transmitted messages using electronic tape. The FBI toyed with the idea of intercepting the tapes and fouling up the messages enough to make them useless to the recipient.

The information obtained by the Post-Dispatch does not verify whether or not the FBI actually did intercept a tape and doctor it. The assumption must be that they probably did. Bobby Seale, a Black Panther leader, in 1970 was being tried for the torture and murder of Alex Rackley, a fellow Black Panther. The jury subsequently hung and the judge dismissed the charges against Seale. But his attorney recalled that when in pre-trial hearings they listened to some of the tapes the government had seized as evidence, Seale discounted their authenticity. The attorney, Charles Garry of San Francisco, said Seale was listening to the tapes and said, "I never said that. They've done something to that tape." Fortunately, those particular tapes were not used as evidence in Seale's trial. But the thought

occurred to us: Has the FBI used doctored tapes as evidence in other trials?

The FBI says they did not. But then Hoover said in 1966 that the FBI had quit opening domestic mail, but here we are in 1969 and 1971 and apparently mail openings are still going on. The bureau engaged in other antics that are not becoming of a law enforcement agency. Agents planted misinformation designed to create domestic troubles between the Black Panthers and their wives. Also, they tried to organize a truck boycott in Illinois that would have hampered Panther activities. The FBI also tried to involve the Panthers in gang wars in Los Angeles and in Chicago.

Using an undercover office who has to commit crime to be a part of the gang is stretching it, we believe. But to resort to lies, doctored tapes, mail opening and contrived events and facts to get convictions or to harass a citizen is way out of bounds. A law enforcement agency is supposed to investigate and collect evidence to be used in prosecuting a perpetrator of a crime. A law enforcement agency is not a CIA and there is no need for the cloak and dagger routine. If mail needs to be opened and tapes need to be intercepted, we are certain there are courts willing to issue such orders. For a law enforcement agency, to take it upon itself, in the interest of "national security," is too much. The current leaders of the Justice Department and the FBI will say that the "007 agent" is a thing of the past. We hope so. But as Atty. Gen. Griffin Bell once hedged, we can't be sure of it. And that's the tragedy.

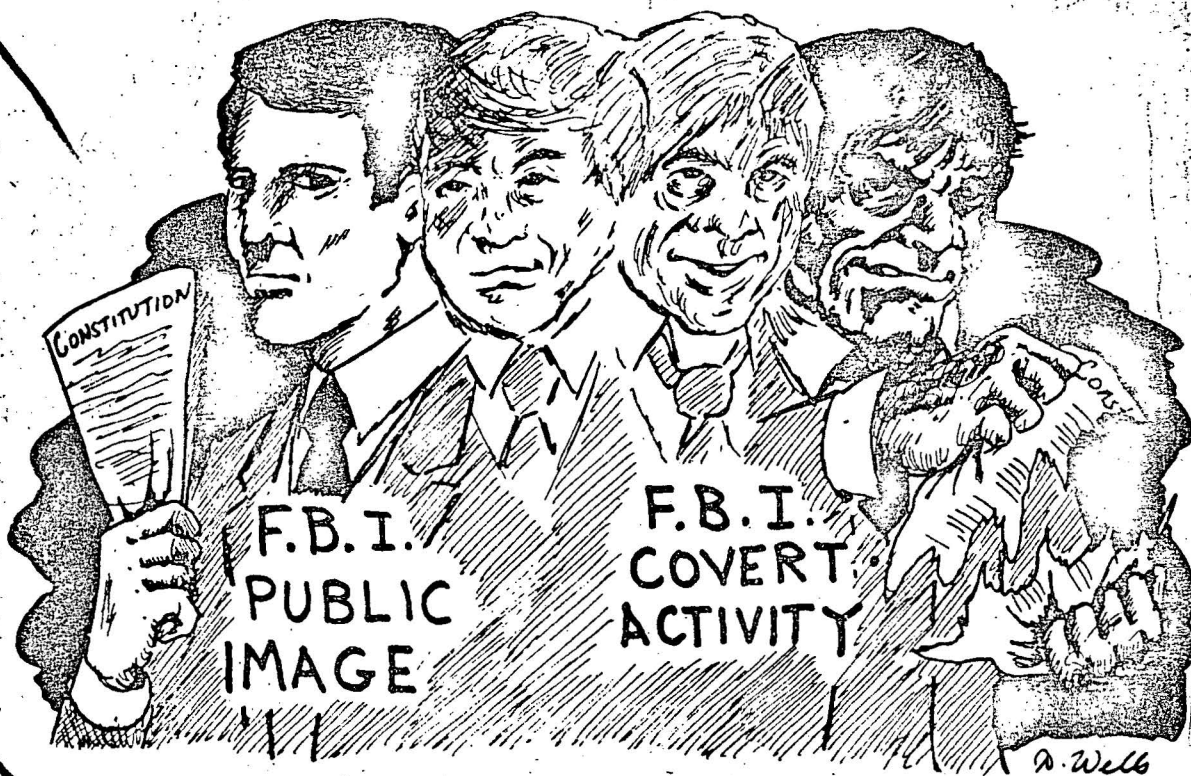
or
Classification:
Submitting Office:

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FBI Tried To Ruin Stokely

[ARGUS News Service]

Washington--In details made public for the first time last week the FBI, responding to a request under the controversial Freedom of Information Act, released documents showing that during the 1960's FBI officials made threatening phone calls to the home of Stokely Carmichael, the Black nationalist leader.

FBI officials sent him fictitious invitations to the People's Republic of China and tried to depict him as an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Some 52,648 pages were released from the agency's Counterintelligence (Cointelpro) Operations files. The program was designed to provoke confusion and disharmony among political groups of the both left and right.

The targets of Cointelpro included a number of new left and Black militant organizations, Cuban and Puerto Rican organizations and literally thousands of individuals.

In 1968, J. Edgar Hoover, the former FBI director, asked the FBI's legal attache in Hong Kong to send Mr. Carmichael a fictitious letter from the "China Travel Service," instructing him to appear in Hong King on a specific date for a 34-day trip to the People's Republic of China.

At the time, Mr. Hoover said he hoped the letter

would cause Mr. Carmichael to pay the expense of traveling to Hong Kong and would embarrass the Chinese if they were unprepared for the trip.

Hoover said he also hoped to leak a copy of the letter to Soviet agents in such a way

that they might wonder if Carmichael was an American intelligence agent. There was no indication of whether Mr. Carmichael actually took the trip to Hong Kong.

On another occasion, an FBI agent in New York called Mr. Carmichael's home. The

agent told Mr. Carmichael's mother he was a friend "fearful for the safety of her son" because Black Panther leaders were out to kill him. The next day, according to FBI files, Mr. Carmichael and his wife left the United States for Africa.

Carmichael

newspaper, city and state.)

1 ST. LOUIS ARGUS
ST. LOUIS, MO.

Date: Dec. 1, 1977
Edition: Weekly

Title: COINTELPRO

Character:

or

Classification: SL 100-21213

Submitting Office: St. Louis

100-21213-202

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NW: 15289 DocId: 70001515 Public 1077

Ind. Bureau 12/7/77

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(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1A ST. LOUIS
POST-DISPATCH

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Date: 12/1/77
Edition: *** Final

Title: COINTELPRO

Character: SL 100-21213
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: St. Louis

100-21213-203
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DEC 5 - 1977

FBI-ST. LOUIS

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He said, "After I wrote a series of stories in 1964 about CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality) in St. Louis, I was more or less adopted by the bureau office there. They would call me with stuff from time to time and suggest that I do a story, or they would identify some guy as a Communist and suggest I look into it."

Walsh recalled that in 1965, he had been called by the St. Louis office of the FBI and told that Robert J. Nissen, then acting general manager of St. Louis public television station, KETC, Channel 9, had a Communist background and should be exposed. Walsh said he had looked into the allegation and had done some stories. Nissen subsequently resigned from his job.

Nissen, now a communications consultant in New York, said in a telephone interview that the content of some of Walsh's articles in 1965 and the line of questioning Walsh had used had made it clear that some government agency had provided information to the Globe-Democrat.

Nissen said that neither he nor his wife had ever been a member of the Communist Party or in sympathy with Communist ideology.

"We were quite active in the peace

movement in the early 1950s," Nissen said, "and at that time the very word 'peace' was considered subversive. The United States was fighting a war in Korea, and to speak of peace was counter to national policy."

One of the Globe-Democrat articles on Nissen focused on his discharge from the Marine Corps in 1954 under "other than honorable conditions." Nissen told the Post-Dispatch that he had appealed the discharge classification. After a long review procedure, he said, the Department of the Navy granted him an honorable discharge in 1967.

Nissen said he and his wife had been among the victims of the anti-Communist movement aroused by the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, D-Wis., in the early 1950s. "It was a very fearful time," Nissen said, "a time of persecution and injustice."

Another incident recalled by Walsh and detailed in the FBI documents began with an "urgent" coded message from the Washington office of the FBI to the St. Louis office on Feb. 11, 1965. The message suggested that a news executive at the Globe-Democrat would be able to arrange for a reporter and a photographer to cover the arrival in St. Louis of Herbert Aptheker, a Marxist theoretician and a leader of the U.S. Communist Party, who was to speak at several universities in the St. Louis area.

The same memo noted that the news executive, whose name has been blacked out, could "alert Channel 2-TV." Channel 2, KTVI-TV, is owned by the Newhouse group of newspapers, which also owns the Globe-Democrat.

Walsh says the only news executive at the Globe-Democrat in 1965 who exercised responsibility at both the newspaper and the television station was Amberg.

Walsh recalled that he personally had been alerted by the FBI regarding Aptheker's visit and that he and former Globe-Democrat editorial writer Patrick J. Buchanan, now a nationally syndicated columnist, had met Aptheker at Lambert Field on his arrival. The Globe-Democrat published a Page 1 article, with photographs, about Aptheker's visit.

Walsh recalled that at the airport, he and Buchanan had found that Aptheker was being met by Theodor Rosebury, a prominent bacteriologist at Washington University, who is now deceased. The reporters made a great deal of the Aptheker-Rosebury relationship, Walsh said.

This was picked up by the FBI in St. Louis and relayed to the Washington bureau office in a memorandum dated April 4, 1965. The memo notes that then Washington University Chancellor Thomas Eliot was put under pressure as a result of the incident.

"Chancellor Thomas Eliot of the university defended the institution's right to maintain an atmosphere in which all opinions can be aired," the FBI memo says. "He evidently felt obliged to make some statement because of the furor which developed locally over the publi-

cized association of Aptheker and Rosebury."

The memo continues: "It may be noted that Dr. Rosebury was among those who helped form Citizens for Liberal Action, which is now active in protesting United States military action in Vietnam."

The memo notes also that "The 'Globe' in an editorial answered Eliot's statement and berated his failure to disassociate the university from the likes of Rosebury."

Buchanan, who subsequently became a political adviser and speech writer for President Nixon, said he remembered the Aptheker incident in 1965 as one of the few times when he had acted as a reporter rather than an editorial writer for the Globe-Democrat.

"We were tipped off that Aptheker was coming to town," Buchanan said. "I don't know where the tip came from; it didn't come to me."

Buchanan said he and Walsh had been roommates in St. Louis at the time.

On Feb. 7, 1967, the St. Louis office of the FBI sent a five-page memo to bureau headquarters in Washington asking for authority to furnish information to the Globe-Democrat about Hershel J. Walker, one-time chairman of the Missouri district of the U.S. Communist Party. In 1967, Walker was active in an anti-war organization known as the St. Louis Citizens for Peace in Vietnam.

The memo was headed "suggested counter-intelligence action against Hershel James Walker," and began, "Authority is requested to furnish the information set forth below to (name deleted) of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, a St. Louis daily newspaper, or in the alternative to (name deleted)."

The memo continues, "It is hoped this may provide a basis for a feature article in the 'Globe' regarding Hershel James Walker."

The memo further states that at least one of the contacts at the Globe-Democrat "has been utilized very successfully in the past in counter-intelligence activity" and "has been very cooperative and discreet in past contacts on other matters."

The memo said the alternative contact at the Globe was being suggested because the prime contact was frequently absent from St. Louis for long periods.

Walsh said he believed the memo referred to him and Amberg. Walker, who still lives in St. Louis, said he recalled having been interviewed by Walsh on several occasions, although Walsh said he could not specifically recollect having talked with Walker.

The five-page memo says the FBI field office intended to provide the Globe-Democrat with personal data about Walker, his known connection with Communist Party members, and a list of 14 questions that the reporter would be given to ask Walker during an interview.

Walsh said he had no specific recollection of receiving the material mentioned in the FBI memo. But he said that on occasion, the FBI had suggested questions that should be put to persons the bureau wanted interviewed.

The Post-Dispatch reported last week that in May 1968, the St. Louis office of the FBI had sent a memo to the bureau in Washington, saying:

"The feeding of well-chosen information to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, a local newspaper, whose editor and associate editor are extremely friendly to the bureau and the St. Louis office, has also been used in the past and it is contemplated that this technique might be used to good advantage."

The memo was in response to one from Washington asking the St. Louis office to list the techniques it planned to use to frustrate and immobilize "new left" organizations.

Some FBI documents prepared by the St. Louis office refer to Amberg as "Editor" of the Globe-Democrat, although his title was publisher.

Among the questions the FBI hoped would be put to Walker by the Globe-Democrat were:

—"Did you participate in an anti-Vietnam parade in downtown St. Louis on Oct. 5, 1966?"

—"Were you in the picket line when Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey spoke in October 1965 at the field house, Washington University?"

—"Does the Communist Party in St. Louis support Russia or China in their current ideological struggle?"

Another memo, this one dated Oct. 14, 1966, says the St. Louis office of the FBI also considered preparing questions that it wanted put to the Dubois Club's Landberg.

The memo says, "Consideration is being given to requesting bureau authority for a published feature article in the St. Louis 'Globe-Democrat,' daily newspaper. Appropriate background information and suggested questions would be furnished to a SAC (special FBI agent in charge) contact who has cooperated previously in this program."

The memo does not indicate who the contact was or whether he was furnished with the "suggested questions."

On Feb. 20, 1967, the Washington office of the FBI authorized the St. Louis office to proceed with the plan to have a Globe-

*'We were tipped off
that Aptheker was
coming to town. I
don't know where the
tip came from; it
didn't come to me.'*

Democrat reporter interview Walker.

On March 17, 1967, the St. Louis office informed Washington that someone at the Globe-Democrat "was contacted in accordance with recent letter. He was most receptive and cooperative."

The memo went on to inform Washington that the March 11-12 edition of the newspaper contained an article based on an interview with Walker.

In July, 1967, the St. Louis office sent a memo to Washington listing the published interview with Walker as an example of the "tangible results" of the counter-intelligence operation in St. Louis.

The memo says, "The steady publicity over the past few years, pointing to varied CP (Communist Party) activity and identifying CP leaders, has had its effect. An example of such publicity, referred to earlier in this letter, was the bureau-approved counter-intelligence action involving an interview with Walker by a reporter for the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis daily newspaper. An ensuing article in the 'Globe' 3/11-12/67 identified Walker as head of the CP in Missouri and an admitted member of the executive committee of SLCPV (St. Louis Citizens for Peace in Vietnam)."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-16708) DATE: 7/14/66

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re St. Louis airtel to Bureau 6/15/66 and Burad to St. Louis 6/21/66.

A typed letter was sent to GUS HALL, 23 W. 26th St., New York, N.Y., and marked personal on 6/22/66.

On 6/24/66, [REDACTED] of the "St. Louis Globe Democrat", SLMO, was furnished information regarding [REDACTED]'s attendance at the DCA Convention and CP Convention, and the possibility of a news article based on an interview with him following his return to St. Louis was discussed. Specifically the possibility of tying in closely the CP with DCA was discussed. On 6/30/66, [REDACTED] was advised [REDACTED] returned to St. Louis from the CP Convention and his home address was given him. [REDACTED] was specifically advised that under no circumstances should the fact that the FBI had furnished this data be publicized.

WJH/rc
(1)

100-16708-578

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 1 1966	
FBI - SAINT LOUIS	

WJH

INTELLIGENCE ADVISORY: A copy of a Federal Bureau of Investigation memorandum, dated 7/14/66, discussing FBI contacts with the Globe-Democrat. The FBI blacked out the names before releasing the document, but the names were legible underneath. (UPI Telephoto)

'We were quite active in the peace movement in the early 1950s and at that time the very word 'peace' was considered subversive.'

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Green Scoffs At FBI Activities

By ROBERT ADAMS
A Washington Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON

PERCY GREEN, chairman of ACTION, was listening to what the Federal Bureau of Investigation tried to do to St. Louis civil rights leaders.

His response went beyond anger. His response was laughter.

"They must have been having some of their newcomers sitting around, trying to dream up things to do," Green said of some of the FBI efforts. "It shows how amateurish they were. A lot of our demonstrations had a lot more sophistication than some of this stuff."

Green, a St. Louis civil rights activist since the early 1960s, summed up the mixture that emerges from the 52,600 pages of FBI documents made public last week. At least in St. Louis, he said, some of the efforts at harassing dissidents show an odd combination of viciousness and outright stupidity.

The papers dealt with Cointelpro. That was the FBI's shortened name for Counter-Intelligence program. It was an effort to harass, disrupt and discredit militants — both black and white — during the volatile era of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

THE SECRET FBI files were made available to the Post-Dispatch and other news organizations under the Freedom of Information Act nearly two years after the Post-Dispatch filed its requests on Dec. 8, 1975.

The FBI's disruptive efforts in St. Louis were often far from laughable. The FBI sent a poison-pen letter to the husband of a woman who belonged to ACTION and to a peace group. It was aimed at breaking up their marriage.

A similar letter was sent to the wife of the Rev. Charles Koen, who was head of the Black Liberators in St. Louis.

The FBI took partial credit for a scuffle between the Black Liberators and the Zulu 1200s. The FBI's anonymous mailing of a derogatory flier about the Liberators preceded the fight.

Beyond this, the busy St. Louis field office of the FBI put out a bogus "underground newspaper." It was made to look like the work of some black students at Southern Illinois University — and of Henry Thomas, a leader in the St. Louis chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality.

The bogus paper caused havoc in the black community. Among other things, it contained sex smears against civil rights figures.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P3E, St. Louis
Post-Dispatch,
St. Louis, Mo.

Date 11/28/77
Edition:

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(COINTELPRO)

Character:
or

Classification:
Submitting Office: SL

100-21213-204

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FBI - ST. LOUIS

"THAT KIND OF THING could have seriously endangered my life," Thomas observed. Tensions were running high in those days, he noted, and the FBI was clearly trying to capitalize on them.

In Illinois, the FBI took credit for the dismissal of two student radicals in Normal. It asserted that it kept a third from even getting a job. A Spanish teacher was dismissed in Wentzville, Mo., after the FBI talked to school authorities.

But some of the other Cointelpro efforts seem to show an unusual preoccupation with the trivial. A few ideas seemed to be straight out of Jimmy Breslin's "The Gang That Couldn't Shoot Straight."

There were the beards, for example. The St. Louis FBI office wanted a list compiled of every bearded black militant in the United States. They wanted to send them an anti-beard article by Elijah Muhammad.

FBI headquarters in Washington thought the idea was not worth the effort.

THEN THERE WAS the lone Weatherman. The St. Louis FBI office, in 1970, spotted a white radical who said he was the leader of the local Weathermen.

The "Leader" actually had no followers. The FBI found that he was a one-man "Group." He still lived with his parents.

The FBI devised a scheme to threaten him and to cause friction between him and black activists, by sending him an anonymous letter. The letter told him to "keep your Jew mouth shut." It was purportedly signed by the ACTION Guerrilla Force.

"The FBI Knew the Weathermen didn't really exist in St. Louis. Why would they spend so much time on this one guy? You wouldn't think the FBI would be that far off center."

"It's pitiful," Green observed. "Most people would know that wasn't ACTION's style anyway. And we have Jewish members ourselves."

"THE FBI KNEW the Weathermen didn't really exist in St. Louis. Why would they spend so much time on this one guy? You wouldn't think the FBI would be that far off center."

Then there was the Veiled Prophet parade for years. The St. Louis FBI's idea to counter that was mailing out an editorial.

The editorial appeared in a black newspaper. It criticized the demonstrations. The FBI was going to mail it to ACTION's white members, figuring they would not have read the black newspaper.

FBI headquarters blocked that one, too. Headquarters pointed out that although the editorial criticized the demonstrations, it also criticized the Veiled Prophet.

Indeed, the FBI seemed to flip-flop on the question of whether ACTION should be a target at all. In a 1968 memorandum, ACTION was at the top of a list of four St. Louis militant groups. In a later memo, the FBI suggested dropping action because the others were more subversive.

STILL LATER, the FBI wrote of trying to reduce the influence of ACTION, its newspaper, and its Veiled Prophet demonstrations. But the FBI's most significant known moves against action were the poison-pen letter involving the woman member, the letter to the Weathermen, and the ill-fated Veiled Prophet suggestion. The FBI's known activities virtually ignored Green, who was the city's most visible and talked-about black militant.

The FBI also seemed to be preoccupied with lists of names. It had a "rabble-rouser index," an "agitator index," a "security index," and a "key activist" list.

There is no indication in the FBI papers as to how one category differed from another, or what qualified an individual for listing on a particular index.

Persons friendly to the FBI speak of the agency's accomplishments in fighting crime. They point to the riots in the cities and the disorders on the campuses and the protests by black and white activists as motivating factors behind what even top FBI officials have acknowledged were irresponsible acts.

The FBI says its Cointelpro stopped in 1971. Percy Green, suspects the harassment is still going on, but under a different name. Others note that what the FBI might consider legitimate surveillance, some persons might call disruption — like visits to friends and employers of activists to get information about them.

PART OF THE ANSWER may lie in the 16,300 pages of Cointelpro documents that are still secret. Those are papers the FBI said were exempted from disclosure — because of the confidentiality of FBI sources, or national security, or, ironically, because it was thought that they might be an invasion of privacy.

The program against the "New Left" had 9500 pages. The FBI gave out 6200 and withheld 3300.

The program against "black extremist" groups had 6500 pages. The FBI gave out 6000 and withheld 500. Many of the pages made public in all categories were heavily censored.

Still other material may be buried in the "main files" and in the "investigative files" kept by the FBI on activists.

PROBABLY THE ONLY way for that information to surface is through requests by individuals and groups for their own files. The Department of Justice says it has notified all targets of Cointelpro that they were targets, and that they have a right to ask for the FBI files on themselves. Green, however, has asked



Percy Green
Wants to see FBI files

for his own files but says the FBI has given him a runaround. Damage suits against the FBI might also have the effect of forcing the production of certain documents in court.

The new disclosures have prompted fresh interest in congressional scrutiny of the FBI.

"Congressional investigations aren't enough," said John Shattuck, director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union. "The FBI should have a new legislative charter limiting its activities to investigating crimes."

The Intelligence Committee is working on a new charter now. Sources on the committee say the panel is ready to proceed with one, but is waiting for the Carter administration's proposal to reorganize the Department of Justice.

Before that, the White House is expected to issue an executive order defining the nation's intelligence structure. Such an order would guide the FBI, the Central Intelligence Agency and other investigative agencies until Congress acts.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Plea bargains offered to ex-FBI officials

By RONALD J. OSTROW
Globe-Democrat-Los Angeles Times
News Service

WASHINGTON — The Justice Department is exploring plea bargaining agreements with lawyers for former Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray III and two other former FBI officials in an effort to settle the FBI break-in case swiftly, the Los Angeles Times learned Friday.

Attorneys for Gray, W. Mark Felt, formerly No. 2 man in the bureau, and Edward S. Miller, who headed the FBI's domestic intelligence division during the break-ins, have been asked to respond by Tuesday.

THERE WAS NO immediate indication whether any of the men would agree to guilty pleas.

Lawyers for Felt and Miller declined comment on their discussions with Justice Department attorneys, and Stephen H. Sachs, Gray's attorney, could not be reached. Sachs is understood to have discussed the case Friday with Acting Deputy Attorney General Benjamin R. Civiletti.

Sources familiar with the government's offer said the department was seeking guilty pleas to misdemeanor charges. This would be one step more severe than the "no contest" plea to a misdemeanor charge that the Justice Department accepted from Richard Helms, the former Central Intelligence Agency director, a plea that drew criticism from some members of Congress.

The attempt to settle the long investigation that FBI Director William H. Webster recently acknowledged has cast a cloud over

the bureau grew out of recommendations submitted in March to Attorney General Griffin B. Bell by a 10-member team of department attorneys.

The plan, not yet finally approved by Bell, would include seeking a lesser plea from retired FBI Supervisor John J. Kearney for dropping the case against him.

KEARNEY, WHO WAS in charge of Squad 47, an anti-terrorist unit in the FBI's New York office, is the only person indicted so far. Bell has recently been critical of the felony case brought against Kearney.

Evidence involving J. Wallace LaPrade, who heads the FBI's New York office and who was named an unindicted co-conspirator in the Kearney case, would be referred to Michael E. Shaheen Jr., the department's counsel for professional responsibility, for possible disciplinary action against LaPrade.

Shaheen declined to discuss the case Friday.

Terrence B. Adamson, Bell's spokesman, would neither confirm nor deny that the plea bargaining discussions had taken place.

He said Bell "has the overall Weatherman break-in case under advisement and will be finalizing his decision at an early date."

The allegedly illegal FBI tactics were used in a hunt for fugitive members of the radical Weatherman Underground.

ADAMSON SAID BELL was scheduled to meet with the 10-man team of department lawyers Wednesday and that "perhaps an additional meeting will be necessary."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

P7A, St. Louis Globe-Democrat, St. Louis, Missouri

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Editor:
Title:

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